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Models of kingship in the books of Samuel and Kings : a literary and theological study of kingship in the books of Samuel and Kings

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MODELS OF KINGSHIP IN THE BOOKS OF SAMUEL AND KINGS

A Literary and Theological Study
of Kingship in the Books of Samuel and Kings

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT.	ii
ABBREVIATIONS	iv
INTRODUCTION	1

PART I

CHAPTER ONE:	
The Rise of Jeroboam and David to Power. . . .	12
CHAPTER TWO:	
The Establishment of National Shrines.	56
CHAPTER THREE:	
The Nature of National Cults and the Future of Dynasty and Nation	120
CHAPTER FOUR:	
The 'Rounding off' of the two Royal Models . .	176

PART II

CHAPTER FIVE:	
Ahab and Josiah: The Two More Extensive Re-creations of the Two Royal Prototypes of Disfavour (Jeroboam) and Favour (David) . .	255
CHAPTER SIX:	
Ahaziah and Hezekiah: Two Modest Re-creations of the Two Royal Prototypes of Disfavour (Jeroboam) and Favour (David)	312
CHAPTER SEVEN:	
Jehu and Manasseh: Two 'Odd' Representatives of the Two Royal models.	359
CHAPTER EIGHT:	
Kingship and Disaster: The Relationship between the Two Royal models and the Conquest and Exile of the North and South.	413
CONCLUSION.	453
BIBLIOGRAPHY.	471

ABSTRACT

The materials attached to Jeroboam and David have been shaped to present these two kings as contrasting models of kingship. Jeroboam emerges as the model of disfavour and David as the model of favour. There is some similarity and interaction in the reports of the two kings' rise to kingship, but this does not seem to extend beyond these reports (I Kings 11:1-12:24; I Sam 15-II Sam 5). The element of favour which is present in the account of Ahijah's designation of Jeroboam (I Kings 11:29ff), is transformed into a very strong element of disfavour. Jeroboam becomes the Unheilsherrscher who leads his dynasty and his kingdom to destruction (I Kings 14:6ff). The sin created by Jeroboam's establishment of the rival shrines of Dan and Bethel, becomes a vortex that sucks into its realm of destruction each northern king and each generation.

Although there is a strong element of disfavour in the Davidic traditions (cf. II Sam. 11-20), the king still emerges as the ideal representative of the model of favour. His establishment of what is to be understood as Israel's only legitimate shrine, i.e. that of the Ark in Jerusalem, constitutes the important event that creates David into the model of favour. It is on the basis of the close association between David and the Ark that his dynasty is declared Israel's legitimate dynasty (II Sam. 6:20-23) that will last forever (7:1ff). The merging of these traditions about Ark (cult) and dynasty creates the model of favour as represented by David, as the direct opposite of the model of disfavour as represented by Jeroboam.

The prototypes of disfavour (Jeroboam) and favour (David) are re-created around several other kings in the Samuel-Kings material. In this way kingship becomes inextricably bound up with the contrasting experiences of Israel. Samuel-Kings stands as a gallant attempt to come to grips with the many conflicting experiences of Israel's history.

ABBREVIATIONS

AB	The Anchor Bible
Arch.	Archaeology
ASTI	Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute
AThD	Acta Theologica Danica
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
BA	Biblical Archaeologist
BAT	Botschaft des Alten Testaments
BHS	Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia
Bibl	Biblica
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BWANT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die altestamentliche Wissenschaft
CBQ	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
FS	Festschrift
G	Septuagint version of the Old Testament
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HKAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
ICC	The International Critical Commentary
IB	The Interpreter's Bible
IDB	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
INT	Interpretation
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature

JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review
JSOT	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament
JTS	Journal of Theological Studies
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
KS	Kleine Schriften (des Alten Testament)
LXX	Septuagint
LBS	The Library of Biblical Studies
MT	Masoretic Text
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studien
RB	Revue Biblique
S	The Syriac Version (Peshitta)
SAT	Die Schriften des Alten Testaments
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SBT	Studies of Biblical Theology
SEA	Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok
SJT	Scottish Journal of Theology
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
VT	Vetus Testamentum
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament
WZ	Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
ZDPV	Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-vereins
ZThK	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche

INTRODUCTION

The need to come to grips with, and to make sense of the numerous conflicting experiences of life and history, must have been one of the motivating forces behind human reflection throughout the centuries. The world's literature, ancient and modern, is full of this type of reflection. It is very pronounced in the Biblical material which represents centuries of reflection upon the conflicting experiences of life and history.

The material of the books of Samuel and Kings constitutes a deep wrestling with some of Israel's contrasting experiences of history. There is some revelling in the glory and influence which David brought to his kingdom, as there is great agonizing over the division of the Davidic kingdom (I Kings 11:1ff), the lost of the northern kingdom (II Kings 17:7ff), and even more so, the destruction of Jerusalem and the South (II Kings 21:10ff; 23:26-27; 24:3-4).

These two contrasting sides of the experiences of history converge in the institution of kingship. The king becomes the one who is accountable for every experience of his nation, be it a positive or a negative experience. This leads us to view kingship as it is presented in Samuel and Kings, as primarily a literary and theological construction whose chief function is to account for the bitter-sweet experiences of history.

Each of the kings we meet in Samuel and Kings has been created in a particular literary-theological mould to provide an answer to one dimension of this experience. It seems however that a few of the kings, David, Jehu, Hezekiah and Josiah, combine the two contrasting dimensions. It is therefore within the material now attached to these kings that the wrestling process

mentioned is at its most intensified.

The tendency to create a king in a particular mould has been identified as one of the characteristics of some of the material attached to the kings. It has been identified in the material relating the rise of David to kingship,¹ as well as in the Hezekiah and Josiah materials.² But this also holds true for the material now attached to the kings Jeroboam I, Ahab, Ahaziah, Jehu and Manasseh. This seems to suggest that an analysis of kingship in Samuel and Kings will have to be to a large extent a literary analysis, if we are to grasp how this institution represents a deep and sometimes agonizing wrestling with the experiences of history.

Much attention has been given in recent times to the need for a literary approach to the Old Testament material. This according to Jobling, represents as in the case of Alter's work, a " 'paradigm shift' in biblical studies from a predominantly historicist to a literary or more generally synchronic approach."³ It seems however that this also represents a move away from the 'what really happen' approach, to an attempt to appreciate the Old Testament material as literature.

It is this approach which transforms the Old Testament material from being a repository of events and traditions from the distant past, into a collection of incisive comments and indeed reflections on the experiences of history. Within Samuel and Kings, kingship functions as the catchment within which these comments and reflections are to be found, shaping this institution into one which is made to provide some answers to the conflicting experiences of history.

Along with the need to appreciate the Old Testament as

literature, there is another need, the need to appreciate the profound theological statements and insights contained therein. The literary and the theological nuances of the texts must be held together, if we are to grasp many of the subtle queries being raised as all the lofty theological ideals are squared with the harsh realities of historical experience. In Samuel and Kings, this is very much at work, as those responsible for the present shape of the material sought to reconcile the idealism of the Davidic tradition with defeat, destruction and exile. Theology and literary technique merge in the quest for answers to difficult and perplexing questions.

Alter has correctly pointed out that very often in the past, the emphasis on the theological (religious) dimensions of the text has created several problems. He claims that this was often done at the expense of the literary dimensions of the text. Concerns for such phenomena as character, motive and narrative designs were neglected primarily because of the preassumption that the Bible is the revelation of ultimate truth. The biblical view of man, the biblical notion of the soul and the biblical vision of eschatology were often seen at the important questions to be brought to the biblical text.⁴

Alter has identified the pitfall which results from placing most, if not all of our emphasis on the theological dimensions of the text at the expense of the literary dimension. However we should not be led into an 'either-or' approach to the material. To fully appreciate the biblical material we will have to adopt a 'both-and' as opposed to an 'either-or' approach. This understanding is captured in a comment of Gunn when he claims:

Obviously one of the dimensions of seriousness in Old Testament narrative is likely to be a theological dimension.

It is not the only dimension but it is an important one.....it is helpful in discussing such literature to bear in mind the "theological" aspect indicates the "seriousness" of the literature.....⁵

The literary approach is indeed helpful and can sometimes be very illuminating, but it must be held alongside the theological questions raised by the text. Scholars like Polzin, Gunn, Jobling and Conroy among others, have all demonstrated the importance of literary analysis for a better understanding of the material of Samuel and Kings, especially that relating to David.⁶ As they point out, a narrative like the one telling of the succession to David's throne (II Sam.9-20; I Kings 1-2), is brim full of literary techniques which if grasped, can help us to understand the story far better.⁷ But we can also maintained that the story is also brim full of theology. The literary techniques employed by the writer seem to be put to work to create a story with a profound theological message. It draws out the relationship between sin, judgement and election. This is primarily a theological concern rather than a literary one.

In our study of kingship in Samuel and Kings, we will be holding the literary and theological dimensions of the material together. The kings will be treated not as historical personalities, but as the literary-theological creations of the narrators. As such kingship becomes a malleable institution whose shape is largely determined by certain theological concerns and literary techniques.

The institution emerges from Samuel and Kings in the form of two distinct, and sometimes conflicting models of kingship. These can be termed the model of favour and the model of disfavour. In these models, we will argue, kingship is made to account for all the varied and contrasting and indeed

conflicting experiences of history. Theological ideals and national humiliation, hope and bitter disappointment are all held together in kingship.

The way in which kingship wrestles with these experiences, is explored first of all in what we identify as the two prototypes of the models, David and Jeroboam I. The first part of our study will be a look at how these prototypes are developed. We will seek to draw out some of the theological concerns as well as identify some of the literary techniques employed by the narrators in the creation of the prototypes.

The starting point of our study is the exploration of the stories recounting the rise of Jeroboam and David to power. This is done at what can be termed the literary level, the level of the structure of the two stories, but also at the theological level. The themes of election and rejection (judgement) are given some prominence in our discussion. The extent to which these themes lend support to the structure of the two stories will also be touched on.

Chapters two, three and four, explore the development of the prototypes in the material beyond that which recounts the rise of Jeroboam and David to kingship. To facilitate our analysis as well as to be faithful to the literary and theological dimensions of the text, we have employed three major themes which will assist us in our isolation of the models of kingship. These themes can be understood as functioning as the framework around which kingship in Samuel and Kings is largely constructed. They are,

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult.

These themes will guide our analysis of the material in the second part of our study (Chapters five to seven) as well.

The three major themes constitute the dynastic and cultic pillars upon which the models of kingship in Samuel and Kings are constructed. They will enable us to draw out from the material, the important elements which function to create the kings we discuss into contrasting models of kingship. They help us to identify the constituent literary-theological blocks used to create the mould of kingship into which a particular king is cast.

The themes will also lead us to what is one of the most burning issues emerging from the books of Samuel and Kings, the issue of survival.⁴ The survival of dynasties and national cults, but more important the survival of the nation (kingdom) is introduced into the models at a very early stage. Indeed much of the material which is used in the creation of the prototypes revolves around the question of why a particular dynasty and national cult did or did not survive. It is from this question that the reasons for the survival and/or destruction of the kingdoms are drawn out.

But we can also see the three major themes as leading us to ask three basic questions, which in turn determine the type of model of kingship a particular king represents. These questions can be set out in relationship to the theme as follows:

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty: The Davidic dynasty or the dynasties of the North?

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence:
The Ark of Jerusalem or the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel?

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult: Jerusalem, i.e.,
the South, or Dan and Bethel (and Samaria), i.e.,
the North?

This enables us to see how the themes interact with each other as well as support each other.

This interaction will become very important for the development of the models. The bias towards the Davidic dynasty under 'A', the foundation of which is laid in the first stage, i.e., his rise to kingship, leads to an option for the Ark in 'B.' This option is cemented by having the legitimate king (dynasty) of the first stage, adopt the Ark as the national cultic symbol in the second stage (ch.2). It is also in this second stage that the option for the Davidic dynasty and the Ark, can be contrasted with the negative image being created around Jeroboam because of his rejection of the Davidic dynasty and the Ark (cf. I Kings 12:26ff).

It is the answers given to the questions raised in relation to 'A' and 'B', which will determine that given to the question raised by 'C'. The option for the Davidic dynasty and the Ark will constitute a declaration that it is at Jerusalem that Yahweh's legitimate cult is to be found. But the other side of the declaration is that the cult centres of the North are all devoid of this legitimacy.

This third theme 'C', brings us to the very heart of the question of survival. It is here more so than under the others that the contrasting sides of national experience are held together, and the reasons for the destruction of the kingdoms given. The question of why national humiliation and destruction do find some answers under 'A' and 'B', but it is

under 'C' where the cultic status of the national cult come in for scrutiny, that the reasons for the destruction of the nation is explicitly given.

Along with our three major themes, we will attempt to isolate at the end of chapters two to seven, five other themes which can be termed minor themes. If the three major themes can be seen to lead us into the question of national survival, the five minor ones attempt to draw out the contrast between the two kings being discussed. They identify some of the important acts attributed to the kings which are used to shape them into models of favour or models of disfavour.

In the second part of our study, we will show how other kings are created into representatives of the models created around Jeroboam and David. Once more the kings are dealt with in pairs. These pairs are:

Ahab and Josiah (Chapter five)

Ahaziah and Hezekiah (Chapter six)

Jehu and Manasseh (Chapter seven)

The material attached to these kings is analysed with the use of our three major themes as in the first part of our study.

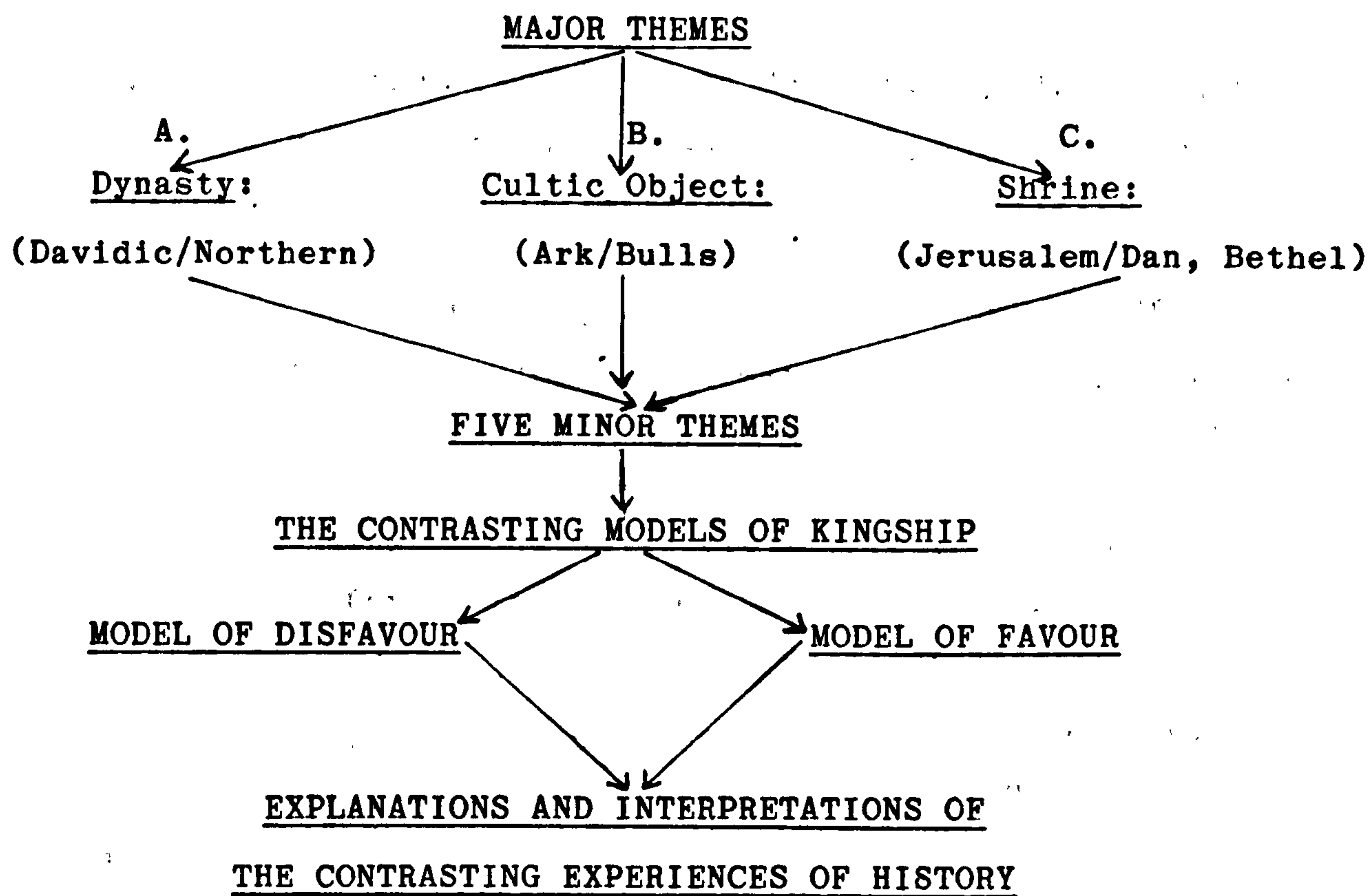
The pairs of kings listed above have been chosen because of what can be termed a measure of compatibility between the kings of each pair. It can be argued for example, that both Ahab and Josiah are the most extensive re-creations of the prototypes Jeroboam and David respectively. Similarly, it can be argued that Ahaziah and Hezekiah are two less extensive re-creations of the prototypes.

Jehu and Manasseh will be treated as the two odd representatives of the prototypes. Jehu a northern king, is credited with extensive reforms (II Kings 9:1ff; 10:1ff),

whereas Manasseh a southern Davidic king is identified as the one who rejects the Yahweh cult, and brings destruction to his kingdom (II Kings 21). Jehu becomes the only northern king to be credited with a significant amount of favour, while Manasseh is compared with Ahab because of his making of an Asherah (II Kings 21:3). He is thus compared with the worst northern king beyond Jeroboam. Our main interest in the Jehu and Manasseh material is to discover how the two kings compare with each other, and also how they effect the re-creation of the models.

In our final chapter (ch.8), we discuss the relationship between the models of kingship and the exile of the North and the South. This will indeed be a culmination of our discussion of the relation between kingship and the experiences of the two kingdoms. We attempt to draw out this relationship at the end of each chapter, and this helps to maintain our interpretation of kingship as presented in Samuel and Kings, as a gallant attempt to come to grips with all the contrasting experiences of history. It is an attempt to come to grips with the contradictions of history, or should we say, the contradictions of the understanding of saving history as contained in several sections of the Old Testament, including the books of Samuel and Kings.

The following diagram can represent a type of 'handy guide' to our analysis of the material of Samuel and Kings, as contained in Chapters two to seven of our study.



NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

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2. cf. Fohrer, G. Introduction to the Old Testament, Trans:
 David Green, (Nashville, 1968), p. 234.
 Gray, John. I & II Kings, (London 1964), pp. 657ff.
3. Jobling, David, Review of Robert Alter's, The Art of
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4. Alter, Robert, The Art of Biblical Narrative, (London,
 1981), pp. 17ff.
5. Gunn, David, The Fate of King Saul. An Interpretation of
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 1980), p. 12.
6. Polzin, Robert, Moses and the Deuteronomist. A Literary
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 Series 7 (Sheffield 1978).
 Conroy, C. Absalom, Abasalom: Narrative and Language in
 2 Sam. 13-20, (Rome, 1978).
 cf. also, Fokkelman, J. Narrative Art and Poetry in the
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 Kings 1-2), (Assen, 1981).
7. cf. especially, Gunn, The Story of David, Conroy, Absalom,
 Absalom.

P A R T I

JEROBOAM AND DAVID

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TWO
PROTOTYPES OF DISFAVOUR AND FAVOUR

CHAPTER I

Stage I : The Rise of Jeroboam and David to Power
(I Kings 11:1 - 13, 26 - 12:24; I Sam. 15 - II
Sam. 5).

1. A short note on the extent of the two blocks of materials,
and the implications of this for a comparative analysis.

Given the type of comparative analysis we shall undertake, one cannot ignore the disparity in the amount of material that is attached to the two kings in this first stage of the development of the two royal models. We intend to show, however, that this difference still allows for a comparative analysis of the two blocks of materials. This type of analysis is possible because of the presence of a number of common themes.

The most important of the common themes is that relating to the election of David. As will be shown, this theme plays a pivotal role in each block of material, creating a strong link between the two kings that facilitates their comparison. Along with the theme of Davidic election there are a number of 'structural' themes that impose a similar structure on the two blocks of materials. All the themes in each block of material serve to underpin the narrator's chief concern, the process by which a new dynasty becomes established in Israel. This first stage of the development of the two royal models is therefore about one basic issue that is crucial to the development of the two royal models : the legitimacy of Israel's rival dynasties.

Along with the basic concern about the legitimacy of Israel's rival dynasties, there seems to be a related concern about the legitimacy of certain cultic actions. In fact the emergence of both the dynasty of Jeroboam and that of David is linked to the illegitimate cultic acts of their predecessors. Solomon's patronage of the cults of his foreign wives is the reason given for the emergence of Jeroboam (I Kings 11:1-11), just as Saul's violation of the herem becomes the reason for the emergence of David (I Sam. 15:1ff). Legitimacy of dynasty and legitimacy of cult becomes intertwined at the very beginning of the development of the models.

The material selected for this stage is that which attempts to show why new dynasties were necessary after the reigns of Solomon and Saul, and how they eventually came to be established. It is these two concerns which determine to a very large degree both the structure and the content of the material we are about to analyse. But before this analysis, we will look briefly at the extent of the material since this will also be important for content and structure.

2. The Delimitation of the material

The Story¹ of Jeroboam's Rise to Power (SJR)

The story of Jeroboam's rise to power is normally limited to I Kings 11:26 - 12:24.² The Material is conveniently delimited by the introduction of Jeroboam in 11:26 and the affirmation of his rule by means of the fulfilment motif in 12:24b.³ It is easily divided into two units. The first, 11:26-40 tells of Jeroboam's relationship to Solomon and his designation as king by Ahijah. The second, 12:1-24 relates

how the prophetic promise of Ahijah was fulfilled.⁴

Of special importance to the discussion of the limitation of the story of Jeroboam's rise, is the question of how far the material which preceeds it, especially that of 11:1-13 constitutes an introduction. Much of the content of 11:26 - 12:24 presupposes the lists of Solomon's sins as outlined in 11:1-8.⁵ Indeed 11:33 and 12:15b serve as links joining the material of 11:1-8 (9-25) to 11:26 - 12:24.

SJR as it now stands, is presented in what can be termed a 'consequential' relationship to the sins of Solomon as reported in 11:1-8. The story is anticipated in vss.9-13,⁶ as well as in the report of the revolts within the Davidic empire (vss.14-25). Even if we admit with Gray that vss.14-25 "rest on genuine historical sources",⁷ its theological and literary function seems to be primarily to point to the working out of the threat against Solomon in vss.9-13.

On the basis of the above argument, we shall be treating 11:1-13 as an introduction to SJR. Without this section, much of the material in 11:9ff, especially that of 11:26 - 12:24 is deprived of a firm theological and literary base. Given the crucial role attributed to the sin of the kings in Samuel-Kings, there seems to be a strong case for treating the first extensive list of royal sins as part of the story about the first major disaster in Samuel-Kings to be linked to the same sins, i.e. the division of the Davidic kingdom. We will therefore be treating 11:1-13; and 11:26 - 12:24 as the material accounting for Jeroboam's rise to power.

The Story of David's Rise to Power (SDR)

There is no broad consensus about where SDR begins and ends. There seems to be three basic suggestions about where it begins. The first held by Gronbaek,⁸ and supported by Mettinger,⁹ claims that SDR begins in I Sam. 15:1. A second position put forward by Weiser,¹⁰ and supported by Stoebe,¹¹ finds the beginning of the work in I Sam. 16:1. The third suggestion finds support in Noth,¹² Veijola,¹³ Alt,¹⁴ and Rost,¹⁵ and treats I Sam. 16:14 as the beginning of SDR.

The last two suggestions exclude ch. 15 from SDR. But the chapter seems to perform a role in relationship to SDR similar to that performed by I Kings 11:1-13 in relationship to SJR. The chapter provides the literary and theological base upon which the account of David's rise to kingship is constructed. There is once more at work what we have termed a 'consequential' relationship, existing on this occasion between ch. 15 and the material which follows it. The events recorded in ch. 16 onwards, i.e., the decline of Saul and the rise of David find their explanation in the story of ch. 15. We will be treating it therefore as a part of SDR.

The arguments advanced for excluding I Sam. 16: 1-13 from SDR are far from convincing. Veijola regards this section along with ch. 15 as prophetic material that was inserted at a later stage.¹⁶ But even if we were able to support its later insertion, this would not in any way alter the literary and theological role it plays in relationship to ch. 15 and the material which follows. Weiser¹⁷ and Kessler¹⁸ have drawn our attention to some strong links between ch. 15 and 16:1-13. These links are however much broader than the thin redactional link which is believed to exist between 15:35 and 16:1.¹⁹

There are also some strong theological and literary links based on content. As the text now stands, 16:1-13 constitutes the first episode of the working out of the threat/promise of 15:28. This literary/theological link leads us to treat ch.15 and 16:1-13 as an inseparable unit. At the same time the unit is an integral part of SDR. It sets out clearly the reasons for the rejection of Saul and the transfer of kingship to David (ch.15). It shows the immediate consequences of the rejection brought on by the sin of Saul (16:1-13).

The exact point at which SDR ends has also been the subject of much debate. Most scholars find the conclusion of SDR somewhere in II Sam.5. Noth²⁰ treats 5:25 as the point of conclusion. There are some fairly good reasons for treating 5:10 as a conclusion. It is a summary statement coming at the end of a block of material which recounts one of David's great achievements, the capture of Jerusalem (5:6-9). The verse contains what Mettinger has termed the Beistansformel 'The Lord was with', which plays a crucial role in SDR.²³ Since this phrase which occurs some five times in SDR occurs only in a much modified form after 5:10, one would be inclined to treat 5:10 as an appropriate point of conclusion.

When the above argument is examined in the light of the content of 5:11-25, some modification is necessary. Indeed vss. 11-25 appear to be a development of the Beistansformel. Hiram's overtures to David (vss.11-12), the list of David's household (vss.13-16),²⁴ and the final blow to the Philistine threat (vss.17-25) can all be interpreted as indicators of Yahweh's presence with David. There very good reasons for treating 11:25 as the conclusion of SDR as Noth does.²⁵

There are four other basic positions on the conclusion of SDR. The first put forward by Pfeiffer,²⁶ and supported by Carlson²⁷ and Stoebe²⁸ regards II Sam.1 as the conclusion of the work.²⁹ But if as we have argued the promise of kingship to David within I Sam.15:1-16:13 is of crucial importance for the material that follows in 16:14ff, then the fulfilment of the promise in II Sam.5 cannot be excluded from SDR. To conclude the work at I Sam.1 would create an unwarranted imbalance.

The second position supported by Mettinger³⁰ and Rendtorff,³¹ regards II Sam.7 as the conclusion of SDR. The role of II Sam.7 in the interpretation of the Davidic material has been pointed out by several scholars.³² That this chapter occupies a crucial position in the presentation of the Davidic material can hardly be denied. It seems however that there is some difficulty in treating it as a part of SDR. As it now stands, it seems to be far more concerned with David's consolidation of power than with his rise to power. Along with II Sam.6 it belongs to another stage of the Davidic tradition that is primarily concerned with his establishment of a cultic base in Jerusalem.³³ The establishment motif is reflected in 6:21 as well as in 7:16ff.

A third position held by Weiser³⁴ and advocated earlier by Budde,³⁵ sees the conclusion of SDR in II Sam.8. Our comments above on chs. 6 and 7 hold true for ch.8. This chapter is also concerned with David's consolidation of power. Whereas chs. 6 and 7 tell of the extent of David's creation of a cultic base in Jerusalem, ch.8 tells of the extension of his power beyond the borders of Israel. If the chapter

can be regarded as a "purely annalistic arrangement of the acts of David....",³⁶ it is an arrangement that tells of the power of David over the neighbouring states. It does not tell us so much about David's rise to kingship over Israel as about the extension of his power as king to the neighbouring states.

The fourth position to be noted is that of Nübel who extends SDR to II Sam.12.³⁷ Apart from the problems this position raises in terms of the specific theme of David's rise to power over Israel, it cuts across another widely accepted unit, the story of the succession to David's throne, II Sam. 9-20; I Kings 1-2.³⁸ We are inclined to treat II Sam.9 as the start of the succession story and so find Nübel's position unacceptable.

Given all that we have said above, our position is that I Sam.15:1 to II Sam.5:25 is to be treated as the extent of SDR. It begins with the reasons for the rejection of Saul and the election of David, and concludes with David as king over all Israel. Like SJR, it accounts for the emergence of a new dynasty in Israel, finding the reasons for this in the sins of the predecessor. The legitimacy of cult is thus linked to legitimacy of kingship, a factor which is very important for the development of the models of kingship beyond SJR and SDR.

3. Davidic Election: One of the important bonds linking SJR and SDR

As they now stand, SJR and SDR have been shaped to impose a stamp of legitimacy on the kingship of Jeroboam and David respectively. In the Jeroboam material, the prophet Ahijah functions as the legitimising agent. On behalf of Yahweh he declares Jeroboam the legitimate ruler of a section

of the Davidic kingdom (I Kings 11:30-32). The tradition of Davidic election to kingship over all Israel is seriously questioned and possibly even denied. At least SJR seems to be demanding nothing short of a rethinking of the tradition supporting Davidic election over all Israel. A radical readjustment of the tradition is necessary.

SDR seems to support an understanding of Davidic election which is the direct opposite of that of SJR. It affirms Davidic election to kingship over all Israel. His is the legitimate kingship replacing that of Saul. As in SJR a prophet functions as the legitimising agent. Samuel on the instigation of Yahweh anoints David as Israel's legitimate king to replace Saul (I Sam.16:13). But Samuel unlike Ahijah, affirms Davidic control over all Israel.

SDR is the working out of the tension created between the kingdom ruled by Saul and the kingdom promised to David. The tension is resolved by making Yahweh responsible for the loss of the kingdom by Saul and its gain by David. In other words the tension is resolved through the actions of Yahweh. In a similar manner, SJR wrestles with the tension between Davidic election to kingship over all Israel, and the emergence of the northern kingdom under Jeroboam. Davidic election as this is spelt out in SDR is placed in the context of the national experience which seems to deny that election.

SJR and SDR seem therefore to stand at apposite ends of the idea of Davidic election to kingship over all Israel. Or it is probably more accurate to say, at opposite ends in their understanding of the idea of Davidic election to kingship over all Israel. For SDR it seems to be an idea originating with Yahweh, and as such it is unchangeable. Thus Saul and his

household are all fitted into this understanding of Davidic election by placing it as a confession upon the lips of Saul (I Sam. 24:16-21; 26:21-25). For SJR the idea of Davidic election to kingship over all Israel is in no way unchangeable. This is emphasised by having Yahweh himself through his prophet Ahijah declare that the very promise made to David is now being radically readjusted, to accommodate Jeroboam's rise to kingship over the greater part of the kingdom once promised to David.

It would seem therefore that the two blocks of material accounting for the rise of Jeroboam and David to kingship revolve around the theme of Davidic election. We will now take a closer look at the material in SJR and SDR which address this problem. Our special interest will be related to how this material helps to shape the two kings into specific models of kingship.

There seems to be two types of material. The first type implies Yahweh's direct involvement in the process:

SJR

SDR

(a) I Kings 11:11-13

I Sam. 16:1, 12b, 13b; 18:12, 14, 28

In the second type of material an intermediary is used by Yahweh:

(b) I Kings 11:31-39

I Sam. 15:27; 23:17; 24:17-21;

25:28, 31; 26:25; 28:17

II Sam. 3:17-18; 5:1-2

(a) I Kings 11:11-13 is part of a pericope (vss. 9-13) the 'mass' of which has been described as "compilatory and late."³⁹ This material like I Sam. 16:1-2, 13b, is in the form of a direct speech of Yahweh. His direct involvement in the events under discussion is underlined through this literary style.⁴⁰ This literary style, i.e., a direct speech of Yahweh, is to be found only once in SJR (11:9-13), whereas it occurs at least six times in SDR (I Sam. 16:1-2, 13b; 23:2; 30:8; II Sam. 2:1; 5:19).

The narrator of I Kings 11:11-13 uses a Yahweh speech

to cite divine approval in his imposition of severe restrictions upon what must have been the traditional and popular understanding of Davidic election. In light of the inextricable link which some scholars like Polzin see existing between direct discourse (reported speech) in the Deuteronomic history and the theological position of the narrator, the Yahweh speech of 11:11-13 reflects a very important conviction of the narrator.⁴¹ Within these verses the narrator interprets what could have been understood as a traumatic assault on the concept of David election, as an act of Yahweh. Yahweh who initiated the election of David now makes some radical readjustments to his initial promise, as this promise is articulated in SDR and in other material like that of Sam.7.

These readjustments are made to square with historical (national) experience. The nature as well as the reason for the readjustment is anchored in the experiences of the nation. Yahweh through his speech becomes directly responsible for the restrictions placed upon Davidic control over the nation. These restrictions limit this control to one (two) tribe(s). But historical experience also dictates the fulfilment of Yahweh's threat be placed within the post-solomonic era. The theme of Yahweh's election of David functions to provide a theological answer to the question: why did the division of the kingdom occurred after as opposed to during the reign of solomon? The narrator is therefore able to make his readjustment to the popular understanding of Davidic election without being untrue to history.

But 11:9-10 which sets the immediate context for the Yahweh speech in vss.11-13, creates a strong link between the necessary readjustments that are to be made to the tradition of Davidic election and the theme of sin. Sin for the narrator is a force which can threaten even the promises of Yahweh to David.

It therefore becomes a force which not only explains the unhappy events of the post-solomonic era, but at the same time demands a radical rethinking of Davidic election.

The theme of sin also provides the basis upon which the indications of Yahweh's direct involvement in the election of David are built. The sin of Saul which creates a dejected Samuel, prompts Yahweh to initiate the rise of David (I Sam.16: 1-2). Davidic election is linked to Yahweh's saving act of replacing the unworthy Saul. David becomes the manifestation of Yahweh's attempt to rescue the nation from the grips of the sin of Saul.

It seems therefore that Yahweh's direct involvement in the process of Davidic election in SDR comes as his response to sin. David's designation as king like Jeroboam's designation, can be interpreted as one of the consequences of the sin of the preceeding king. But whereas in the case of Jeroboam this consequence produces a direct assault on the belief in Davidic election through the division of the Davidic kingdom, in SDR it results in the gift of the kingdom to David. In spite of the gift of the larger part of the Davidic kingdom, Jeroboam hardly moves beyond being the embodiment of the divine assault upon the tradition of Davidic election to kingship over all Israel. David however is not simply the embodiment of the divine judgement upon the house of Saul, but is also the embodiment of Yahweh's salvation.

The so-called Beistansformel also seems to support Yahweh's direct involvement in the election of David and his rise to kingship. In 18:12,14,28, it is reported that Yahweh was with David. Yahweh's presence is however placed alongside the hostility of Saul so that his direct involvement is manifested in David's protection. Yahweh thus ensures that the one elected

by him to replace the rejected Saul becomes king and takes control of the kingdom.

In both SJR and SDR, Yahweh stands as the one who creates and rejects the dynasties of Israel. He creates both the dynasty of Jeroboam and that of David. But the dynasty of Jeroboam is only made possible through Yahweh's readjustment of the domain controlled by the Davidic dynasty. His election of David is maintained in SJR, but his direct intervention which once led to the creation of the Davidic dynasty now leads to its chastisement. The elected dynasty is not rejected, only brought under Yahweh's judgement. Yahweh is therefore made to readjust in SJR what in SDR is his gift to David: kingship over all Israel.

(b) In the second category of material, an intermediary is used to address the problem of Davidic election. In SJR the prophets Ahijah and Shemaiah perform this task (I Kings 11:31-39; 12:22-24). In SDR there is a more representative group. There is Samuel the prophetic representative (I Sam. 15:27; 28:17), Jonathan (23:17) and Saul himself representing the house of Saul (24:17-21; 26:25); Abner (II Sam. 3:18) and the tribes of the North (II Sam. 5:1-2) representing the norther kingdom, and Abigail representing the peoples on the outer limits of the Israelite tribes (I Sam. 25:28-31).⁴²

There are some close links between I Sam. 15:28 and I Kings 11:31-39.⁴³ The use of the verb 'to tear' constitutes one of these links. In both texts the verb is used in the context of a prophetic threat and is closely linked to a symbolic action (I Kings 11:30; I Sam. 15:27). But the verb seems to convey radically different understandings of Davidic election in I Kings 11:30ff and I Sam. 15:27. In I Kings 11:30ff Ahijah announces a drastic reduction of the sphere of Davidic control and consequently a radical readjustment in the understand of Davidic election as reflected in SDR. In I Sam. 15:28 Samuel announces the establish-

ment of Davidic control over what was once the kingdom of Saul.

In both instances the prophet is the one who mediates the narrator's understanding of Davidic election. In glowing terms Jeroboam is promised a dynasty compared to that promised to David in II Sam.7.⁴⁴ The language of vss.37-38 has created problems for some commentators.⁴⁵ The problem is reflected in Dietrich's reference to Jeroboam's comparison to David as a "scandal."⁴⁶ The solution offered is the division of the material in vss.37-38 or rather vss.31-39, into a 'first' layer and a 'second' layer. Vs. 37 would fall into the first layer and vs.38 to the second.⁴⁷ Gray treats vs. 38 as a 'Deuteronomistic adaptation' although he admits the possibility that it could be pre-deuteronomic.⁴⁸

The tendency to treat vs.38 as secondary is partly based on the conditional tone of the promise in which Dietrich finds a hidden threat.⁴⁹ There seems however little reason for adopting this line of argument. The promise compares well with those made to Solomon in I Kings 3:14 and 6:12. Like these promises to Solomon, that of I Kings 11:38 constitutes a firm promise with no hint of a threat. Vs. 38 is therefore an extension of vs.37 although not necessarily a secondary one. The narrator in vs. 38 addresses Jeroboam in language that must have been reserved for David and the Davidic heir. If indeed there is a touch of 'scandal' it is to be found in the use of the language of Davidic election to give divine sanction to the very event that seems to threaten that election, i.e. the secession of the northern tribes under Jeroboam.

It was probably this claim made for Jeroboam and the new kingdom in 11:37-38 that has its counterbalance in the many affirmations of Davidic election over all Israel, placed in the mouth of pivotal characters in SDR. The first of these characters is Jonathan. In I Sam. 23:17 there is a

short speech by Jonathan which can be treated as an abdication speech. It picks up the abdication motif which was introduced in 18:4 through Jonathan's gift of his royal ⁵⁰ לְיָדָיו to David. The words of Jonathan occur in a small pericope that stands out as an oasis of fellowship in a context of the hostility of Saul towards David (cf. vss. 14b, 19ff). He proclaims a prophetic oracle of assurance and proclaims explicitly Yahweh's election of David to be king over Israel. The covenant of vs. 18 reinforces the words of vs. 17 (cf. 18:3). By placing the election of David in the context of covenant, the narrator is emphasizing David's divine and undisputable claim to kingship over all Israel.⁵¹

The dramatic speech of Saul in 24:17-21 like that of Jonathan in 23:17, can also be interpreted as one of abdication.⁵² It picks up Saul's rhetorical and leading question of 18:18, and declares in unequivocal terms the election of David to replace the rejected Saul (vs. 20; cf. 26:25). The covenant theme surfaces in vs. 22a where David swears not to destroy the house of Saul, a promise which is linked to II Sam. 9.⁵³ By having Jonathan and Saul abdicate to David, the compiler of SDR seems to reject any legitimate claims there may be to support a non-Davidic dynasty. It is possible that we may have here an allusion to the claims made for such a dynasty, as reflected in I Kings 11:38. The later attacks on Jeroboam's establishment of shrines in the north constitute a similar attempt to 'invalidate' the institutions of the north. This point will become important as we move into the Davidic material beyond SDR, and compare this material with that found

in the Jeroboam tradition in I Kings 12:26 - 14:16.

In the words put into the mouths of Abner (II Sam.3: 12-18,21), and the northern tribes (II Sam.5: 1-2), SDR addresses in a very direct manner, the problems of Davidic claims to kingship over the North. The words of Abner are placed within the context of the tension between the Davidic house and the house of Saul. It is highly possible that here the house of David can represent the South, and the house of Saul, the North.⁵⁴ If so, the words of Abner to the northern tribes (3:17-18) and to David (3:21) seem to be calling for a submission of the northern tribes to their legitimate and divinely elected ruler, the house of David. These words can be compared and indeed contrasted with the claims of SJR that there are legitimate theological grounds for the secession of the northern tribes from the Davidic house (cf. I Kings 11:1ff, 31-39; I Kings 12:15,22-24).

Unlike SJR, SDR maintains a firm possibly unbreakable link between the Davidic house and the tribes of the North. There seems to be in SDR, little or no room to accommodate the emergence of the North as a separate entity. There is even less to interpret this as a divinely inspired event. This is reflected in a number of claims contained in II Sam. 5:1-2.

The first claim is that of a genealogical link between David and the northern tribes (vs.1). This claim seems to stand in stark contrast to that of I Kings 12:16 (cf.also, II Sam. 20:1). This claim could be based on the tradition of David's marriage to the daughters of Saul (cf. I Sam. 18), or it could simply be another way of affirming Davidic legitimacy by claiming physical affinity to the North.⁵⁵ If so,

the verse could be a veiled reference to the law of Deut.17:15, using it to support Davidic claims over the North.

The second claim is that David was the one who provided security (stability?) for the North even during the days of Saul (vs.2). This claim may be reflecting a context of conflict, when the question of security would have been a crucial one. The narrator here claims that the security of the North rests with the house of David. Could it be that he is pointing to what he sees as the inability of the new northern kingdom to provide its own security? Another group was to make similar remarks about the efforts of the new kingdom to provide its own 'religious security' (cf. I Kings 12:26ff).⁵⁶

The third claim is that Yahweh is the one who willed David the kingship over the North (2b). The narrator has all Israel (לְכָל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל) as opposed to the elders of vs.3 (לְכָל־זִקְנָיָא), confessing the election of David, and declaring their willingness to accept his rule over the North. Thus the passive acceptance of II Sam.5:1-2 can be contrasted with the rebellion of I Kings 12. Just as לְכָל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל

לְכָל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל submits to the rule of David in II Sam.5:1-2, so לְכָל־בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל rejects the rule of the Davidic house in I Kings 12:16.

When we move to the speech of Abigail (I Sam.25:24-31), the compiler of SDR places the confession of Davidic election on the lips of a wise woman, wife of a fool (אִשְׁתִּי־לֵבִי). Hertzberg has correctly pointed out that she is the 'real protagonist' of the narrative.⁵⁷ The narrator skilfully draws out the contrast between the folly of Nabal in

rejecting the young men of David and consequently David himself (vss.9-13), and the actions of Abigail in giving support to David (vss.18ff). But there is even stronger contrast between the words of Nabal and those of Abigail as they relate to the question of Davidic election.

The words of Nabal in vs.10 seem to constitute the background against which the speech of Abigail is made. The question of Nabal in 10a, representing the anti-Davidic position, is cleverly answered by his wife in vss.28b-31. David is the one for whom Yahweh will make a יְהוָה יִצְמַח. There is clearly a relationship between this promise and II Sam.7.⁵⁸ It does not follow however that I Sam.25:28 depends upon II Sam.7 for its interpretation.⁵⁹ The former should be read within the context of ch.25 and the purpose of SDR. Through Abigail, the compiler of SDR assures the security and the continuity of the Davidic line even as the compiler of SJR does the same for the dynasty of Jeroboam in I Kings 11:38.

Another response to the question of Nabal is to be found in vs.29. In powerful imagery the narrator speaks of David being 'bound up in the bundle of the living', protected from those who rise up against him. The rebellion motif present here is not to be overlooked. In 10b, Nabal denounces those servants who break away from their masters, most likely a reference to the secession of the northern tribes. Abigail however goes beyond this to claim divine protection for David (and his dynasty cf.vs.28) against those who rebel against him.

On the basis of the above analysis, we can safely claim that with specific reference to the election of David,

the claims of SDR seem to be directly opposite to those of SJR. It rejects any presentation of Davidic election that would accommodate the establishment of the northern dynasty and the claims made for it in SJR. On the other hand the narrator of SJR is fully aware of the claims of Davidic election, but goes on to adjust them in the context of the secession of the northern tribes. He has no problems in extending the concept of divine election to Jeroboam, a point of view which must have been anathema to the compiler of SDR.

4. The basic structure of SJR and SDR in relationship to some common themes

If the relationship between SJR and SDR as outlined so far is a valid one, then there would naturally be some structural/thematic interaction. In this section we shall explore the level of this interaction, based on the assumption of what we have said so far. When the basic structure of SJR and SDR is examined in terms of some common themes, the pattern that emerges can be set out as follows:

A. A command of Yahweh touching on Israel's relationship with another nation (I Kings 11:2; I Sam.15:3).

Very early in SJR and SDR we encounter a divine command which is crucial for the literary/theological flow of the remaining material. The command in SJR occurs in an indirect form in I Kings 11:2. It follows the report in vs.1 of Solomon's love of foreign women (נָשִׁים נִכְרִיּוֹת).

The narrator then goes on to tell us these נָשִׁים נִכְרִיּוֹת were:

מִן-הַגּוֹיִם אֲשֶׁר אָמַר-יְהוָה אֶל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
לֹא-תִכְאוּ בָהֶם וְהֵם לֹא-יִכְאוּ בָכֶם

The narrator is probably drawing on the tradition in Ex.34:16; Deut.7:3-4 and Josh.23:12, which prohibits marriage between Israel and other nations from fear of religious apostasy. The $\square\text{?}\text{?}$ are listed for us in vs.1b, which varies significantly in MT and LXX.⁶⁰ Only two of the nations listed in Ex.34 and Deut.7 occur in I Kings 11:1. These are the Hittites and the Amorites, and the latter occur only in LXX. It would seem therefore that the narrator in I Kings 11 is taking the law of Ex.34 and Deut.7 and applying it to a situation he knew existed in the days of Solomon. For him the prohibition applies with equal force to the many foreign women that were to be found in Solomon's harem. What must have surely been a political policy aimed at forging links between Israel and neighbouring states,⁶¹ becomes for the narrator a theological/literary base upon which he begins to construct SJR.

The command to Saul, unlike that in I Kings 11, is in a direct form. Preceded by a reminder of Yahweh's goodness to Saul (vs.1) we are given the reason for the command (cf. I Kings 11:2b: אָבְדָן/בָּרַח) introduced by the messenger formula :

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה זָכְאוֹת בָּרַחְתָּי אֶת אֲשֶׁר-אָשָׁה
צִמְלִק לִישָׁרְאֵל אֲשֶׁר-שָׂם לוֹ בְּדֶרֶךְ בַּעֲלֹתָי מִסְּעָרִים

Then comes the command:

עֲתָה לֵךְ וְהִקִּיתָה אֶת-צִמְלִק וְהַחֲרַמְתָּם אֹת-כָּל-
אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ וְלֹא תִחַמֵּל עָלָיו

The question of how far I Sam.15 points to the practice of Holy War in Israel is outside the scope of our present investigation.⁶² The narrator is here using the tradition of Holy War as the narrator in I Kings uses the tradition of

Solomon's foreign wives, as little more than a theological/literary base upon which SDR is launched.

There is a very close link between the command in I Kings 11:2 and that in I Sam.15:3. Both seem to be built on the element of hostility that was a part of Israel's relationship with other peoples, and undoubtedly stemmed from Israel's understanding of election. It is no coincidence therefore that we find both commands closely linked together in Deut.7:1-3. Here the command to יִיָּאֵל and that forbidding marriages between Israel and the inhabitants of Canaan are presented as conditions for Israel's occupation of the land. I Kings 11:12 and I Sam.15:3 draw on what are probably old sacral traditions to heighten the crisis which is linked to actions of Solomon and Saul respectively.

B. The king's disobedience of Yahweh's command
(I Kings 11:1, 4-8; I Sam.15:9)

Both SJR and SDR are very clear in pointing out the disobedience of Solomon and Saul respectively. The disobedience of Solomon is related in a section of I Kings 11 that is full of textual and other critical problems. There are not only significant differences between the text of MT and that of LXX, but most scholars treat 11:1-8 as a composite passage consisting of an older and later deuteronomistic account of Solomon's sins.⁶³ Vss.1-3, 6-8 are credited to the older account, whereas vss.4-5 are treated as deuteronomistic expansions.⁶⁴

But even in the so-called early material there is a strong emphasis on Solomon's disobedience. In vss.1-2 we are told he took wives from the forbidden nations, vs.6 claims

that he did what was evil in the sight of Yahweh, and what is even more important,

וְלֹא מָלָא אֶתֶרִי? נִקְרָה כְּדָוִד אֲבִיר

Vs.7 is an expansion of the accusation of vs.6, giving examples of Solomon's disloyalty. In vs.7 the textual problems of 11:1-8 become acute. The LXX presents us with some variant readings which are worthy of note at this point in our discussion:⁶⁵

MT

Then Solomon built a high place for Chemosh the abomination (קִמְשׁ) of Moab on the hill that is opposite Jerusalem

and for Molek the abomination (מֹלֵךְ) of the Ammonites

LXX

Then Solomon built a high place for Chemosh the idol (εἰδωλόν) of Moab

and for their king (βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν) the idol (εἰδωλόν) of the Ammonites

and to Astarte the abomination (βασίλισσα) of the Sidonians

On the basis of the above texts of MT and LXX, both traditions are faithful to the theme of Solomon's disobedience to Yahweh as well as to the nature of this disobedience. Disobeying the command not to take foreign wives (vss.1-2), he falls prey to the very sin which the command was made to avoid (cf.Ex.34:11ff.; Deut.7:3-4).

The actions of Saul (and the people) in 1 Sam.15:8-9 stand in direct defiance of the command of Yahweh in vs.3. There is a significant apportionment of blame. In vs.8, it is Saul who captures Agag alive, while all the other people are destroyed. This gesture of tolerance extended to the Amalekite king constitutes the first element of Saul's defiance. Like that of Solomon towards his foreign wives (cf.1 Kings 11:vss.4,8), Saul's tolerance towards Agag is

presented by the narrator as the first step towards his downfall. That the people are made to share the blame in vs.9 does not free Saul of the blame laid upon him in vs.8 and indeed vs.9 increases the blame by stating that not only Agag but also the best of the booty and all that was good was saved (וְלֹא אָבַר הַחֲרִימָם). Saul therefore like Solomon stands condemned for the violation of a law that was meant to regulate Israel's relationship with other peoples.

C. The king's disobedience brings a response of anger
(I Kings 11:9; I Sam.15:10-11)

The disobedience of Solomon and Saul leads into the motif of anger. In spite of the fact that the anger in I Sam.15 is attributed to Samuel whereas that in I Kings 11 is attributed to Yahweh, the two texts compare well with each other:

I Kings 11:9-10

And the Lord was angry (וַיִּחַר אֱלֹהִים) with Solomon, because his heart had turned away (וַיִּטָּה) from the Lord, the God of Israel who had appeared to him twice, and had commanded (וַיִּצְוֶה) him concerning this thing, that he should not go after other gods; but he did not keep (וְלֹא שָׁמַר) what the Lord commanded (וַיִּצְוֶה).

I Sam.15:10-11

The word of the Lord came to Samuel : I repent that I have made Saul king; for he has turned back (וַיִּשָּׁב) and has not performed my commandments (וְלֹא עָשָׂה). And Samuel was angry (וַיִּחַר)...

In each text the reason for the anger is clearly stated. This is the action of the king which is in the form of a 'metaphor of digression' : Solomon 'turned away' (וַיִּטָּה) from the Lord while Saul 'turned back' (וַיִּשָּׁב / וַיִּשָּׁבֵן) from performing the commandment of Yahweh. The motif of digression points back to the command of Yahweh in I Kings 11:2 and I Sam.15:3,

and seems to be a device to keep the command to the fore as the narrative moves on. On the other hand, the motif of anger opens the way for the next stage of the narrative, the pronouncement of Yahweh's judgement upon the king.

D. The threat against the king (I Kings 11:11,31ff;
I Sam.15:23b,28)

When we move to this section of SJR and SDR, we see a reflection of the strong prophetic influence that played a crucial role in the shaping of the material in both works.⁶⁶ We find present two of the most significant characteristics of the prophetic material in sections C and D. These are the identification of sin (covenant violation/disobedience), and a divine (prophetic) threat which is to be understood as the divine judgement upon the wrong done (cf. Amos 1:3ff passim; Is.5:8ff; Jer.5:1ff).

In both SJR and SDR the threat occurs with, as well as without symbolic action. Those without symbolic actions are to be found in I Kings 11:11 and I Sam.15:23b. This threat, the first in each work, is preceded immediately by a reminder of the king's act of disobedience which at the same time constitutes the reason for the threat:

Reminder of king's act of disobedience

I Kings 11:11
וְלֹא שָׁמַרְתָּ בְּרִיתִי וְחֻקֹּתַי אֲשֶׁר
צִוִּיתִי עָלֶיךָ

I Sam.15 23b
וְאַתָּה אֵת-דָּבָר יְהוָה

The threat

קָרַע אֶת-הַמִּלְכָּה מֵעַלֶיךָ

וְיָמַסְתָּ מִלְכָּה

At this stage it is necessary to note a significant difference which is emerging between SJR and SDR. Whereas

SJR has been very succinct, SDR, cast as it is up to this stage in the form of a popular story, has tended to be far more elaborate. This feature continues throughout the remaining material. While the material in I Kings 11 moves briskly from the motif of anger (Stage C : vs.9) to the threat (Stage D : vs.11), that in I Sam.15 elaborates on the motif of anger through a conversation between Samuel and Saul. Through this conversation the narrator builds up the case for the threats against Saul in vss.23b and 28. In spite of the more extensive material in I Sam.15, the basic structure remains very similar to that of I Kings 11.

The second threat in SJR and SDR is accompanied by the symbolic action of the tearing of a garment (cf. I Kings 11:30ff., I Sam.15:27-28). Dietrich has drawn our attention to the similarities between the two events, but has also pointed out some significant differences.⁶⁷ The action of Ahijah in 11:30 can be compared with those of Isaiah (Is.20) and Jeremiah (Jer.13:1ff), all of which support a prophetic threat. The tearing of the garment in I Sam.15:27 is equally supportive of the prophetic threat of vs.28. The question of whose garment was torn, Saul's or Samuel's, is not crucial to the function of the symbol in the narrative.⁶⁸ The narrator here as in I Kings 11:30ff., is using the power of symbol to emphasize the theological position he is propounding, i.e. Yahweh's rejection of the king because of disobedience.

I Kings 11:14-22, 23-25, seem at first glance to bear little relevance to SJR. But these two pericopes telling of two rebellions against Solomon, can be treated as a 'foretaste' of the fulfilment of the threat of 11:11.

Coming between the first threat and the second (vs.30ff), they remind the reader that the king's real antagonist is Yahweh, the one whom he has disobeyed (cf.vss.14,23).

E. The gift of a kingdom (I Kings 11:11b,31a;
I Sam.15:28b,16:1-13)

Going hand in hand with the threat to tear (סָרַף) the kingdom from Solomon and Saul, is a promise to give it (נָתַן) to another person. Without naming that person, I Kings 11:11b and I Sam.15:28b refer to the recipient as servant (עַבְדִּי) and neighbour (רֵעִי) respectively. SDR goes beyond SJR in saying that the recipient is better than the one ($\text{הַשֹּׂבֵב מִפְּנֵי}$) from whom the kingdom is to be torn.

The gift of the kingdom in I Kings 11:31a is accompanied by a symbolic action : the gift of ten pieces of Ahijah's mantle. Unlike vs.11b, the recipient is now known, having been introduced in vs.26. The Jeroboam-Ahijah encounter serves as an important theological/literary point in SJR. It is an elaboration of the promise which the narrator introduces in 11b, and also identifies the one to whom Yahweh is about to give part of the kingdom of Solomon. One can hardly follow Hölscher in dismissing the episode as a "useless legend without imagination",⁶⁹ given the literary and theological roles it performs.

In SDR the story of Samuel's anointing of David (I Sam.16:1-13) performs a similar function to the Jeroboam-Ahijah encounter in SJR. It identifies the one to whom Yahweh will give the kingdom of Saul, and the identification is accompanied by a powerful symbolic act : the anointing of

the young David. Just as Ahijah's gift of the ten pieces of his mantle to Jeroboam 'seals' the promise of a kingdom to him, so the anointing of David does the same. We may note another similarity : both acts are reported to be done in secret, unknown to the king whose kingdom has been threatened, and is now offered to a young rival.

F. Hostility of the king towards the king designate
I Kings 11:40a; I Sam.18:8ff).

Following immediately upon the Ahijah-Jeroboam encounter (11:29-39), there is a brief report of Solomon's hostility towards Jeroboam (vs.40a). Once more in SDR there is not this direct flow of the material from prophetic designation (I Sam.16:1-13) to Saul's hostility towards David (18:7 passim). Between 16:1-13 and 18:7, there is a block of material consisting of several traditions, that create the type of background against which the hostility of Saul towards David will stand out in sharper relief. Thus David 'rescues' Saul (16:14-23) and the army of Israel (ch.17), becomes the friend of Jonathan (18:1-5), and the popular hero of the women (vss.6-7). The anger of Saul in vs.8, stands in stark contrast to all these events.

The motif of human threat to a divine promise, which is at work in this section of SJR and SDR, is a fairly popular one in the Old Testament tradition.⁷⁰ As in the other instances, it seems to be employed in both SJR and SDR to sharpen the tension between the promise and its ultimate fulfilment. The hostility of the king is to be seen as being expressed not simply against his rival, but against Yahweh.

The hostility of Solomon towards Jeroboam is expressed in that terse manner that we have come to associate with SJR :

וַיִּבְקֹשׁ שְׁלֹמֹה לְהַמִּית אֶת-יֶרֶבֹאָם

The narrator seems to be linking Solomon's attempt to kill Jeroboam with the offer of kingship made by Ahijah (vss.30ff), rather than with the earlier report of Jeroboam's rebellion against Solomon (vss.26-27). Solomon, somewhat like Saul, is made to react against what the narrator has presented as a secret divine/prophetic designation.

Unlike SJR where the hostility motif is compressed into a few words, SDR expands the motif through a series of episodes. The hostility motif as a factor in the Saul-David relationship first surfaces in I Sam.18. In 18:8 it is expressed in terms of anger (אָרָה) and in vs.9 in terms of suspicious vigilance (וַיִּשְׁמַר). Its strongest expression in the chapter is however to be found in vs.29b which states:

וַיִּהְיֶה שְׁאוּל אֵלֶּכּ אֶת-דָּוִד כָּל-הַיָּמִים

This sets the tone for all the remaining Saul-David encounters.

Within 19:1 - 20:33, the most frequent word used in SDR to express the motif of hostility is מוֹת (Death/to kill), the same word employed in SJR (cf.19:1,11; 20:31b,32b, 33; I Kings 11:40a). After 20:33 we encounter other synonyms for hostility. In 23:8 war imagery is used and in vss.10,15,23 and 25, the narrator employs בָּקַשׁ (seek). David is the hunted and Saul the hunter. The constant escape

of the hunted from the hunter constitutes one of the dramatic factors that moves SDR along to its climax (cf. 19:12; 23:27; 24:26). The narrator even employs an etiological legend in the process (23:28b).⁷¹

The hostility motif is carried over into ch. 24 and is picked up in vs. 3 through the use once more of the word *וְיָצַד*. The word is employed again in vs. 10 but in a type of dramatic reversal. The narrator has David declaring that Saul's action in seeking his (David's) life, is based on a false accusation that David is seeking (*וְיָצַד*) the life of the king. Out of this comes Saul's confession of guilt and the election of David (vss. 17-21). This has the effect of tempering the hostility motif in the chapter.

This balancing of the motif of hostility is to be found in ch. 25 and 26. Nabal's refusal of food to David (vss. 10-11), is balanced with the kindness of his wife (vss. 18-31). Once more as in ch. 24, there is a confession of guilt for the hostility shown to David (vss. 23-25), as well as an acknowledgement of his election (vss. 28ff). Ch. 26 with its affinity to ch. 24, reintroduces the word *וְיָצַד* to support the motif of hostility. As in ch. 24, the motif is tempered towards the end of the chapter with Saul's confession of guilt (vs. 21), and his pronouncement of a blessing upon David (vs. 25).

The hostility motif therefore places a definite stamp upon the chief protagonists, the king and the king designate. In both SJR and SDR, hostility is the link between the one who stands under judgement of Yahweh (Solomon, Saul), and the one who stands under the promise (Jeroboam, David).

- G. The flight of the king designate because of the hostility of the king (I Kings 11:40b; I Sam.19:10 passim)

The motif of flight stands in a very close relationship to that of hostility in SJR and SDR. SJR is as usual very succinct :

וַיִּמְלֹךְ יֵרֵבֹאָם בְּיִזְרְעֵל

In SDR it is a recurring theme in chs.19-27. It is introduced in 19:10 with the words וַיִּמְלֹךְ יֵרֵבֹאָם בְּיִזְרְעֵל. The verb וַיִּמְלֹךְ occurs some five times within chs.19-27 (19:10, 12,18; 22:1; 22:1; 27:1), and along with מָלַךְ it has been termed one of the 'key words' within this section of SDR.⁷² Another important word used to denote flight, is פָּרַח the word employed in I Kings 11:40b. This word occurs three times within chs. 19-27 (19:18; 20:1; 21:11), the first in conjunction with וַיִּמְלֹךְ. פָּרַח and וַיִּמְלֹךְ are used, not only to sustain the motif of flight within chs. 19-27, but they are also used to link distinct episodes in the narrative (cf.19:18; 20:1; 21:10; 22:1; 27:1).

- H. The king designate is kindly received by a foreign king (I Kings 11:40b; I Sam.22:3; 27:1)

In I Kings 11:40b we are told that Jeroboam fled (וַיִּמְלֹךְ) to Egypt to Shishak king of Egypt, and remained there until Solomon's death. MT is silent on Jeroboam's sojourn in Egypt. There is only a slight improvement in LXX. In an account that has been the subject of much debate (3 Reigns 12:24a-24x),⁷³ the LXX attempts to expand on the motif of Jeroboam's kind reception in Egypt. It reports in 24d, that the Pharaoh gave his daughter to Jeroboam. As has

been pointed out this story in LXX seems to be based on that of Hadad in 11:14-22, who is given Pharaoh's sister-in-law as a wife.⁷⁴ It seems however that both the story in LXX as well as that of Hadad may be based on the traditional understanding of Egypt as Israel's enemy, who would gladly and readily give asylum to the enemy of an Israelite king.

The motif of reception/kindness is repeated throughout I Sam.19-27, with David like Jeroboam ending up under the protection of a foreign king (27:1ff). What is expressed in a few words in SJR, is therefore greatly expanded in SDR. We not only have two foreign kings receiving David into their country, i.e. the king of Moab (22:3-4), and Achish of Gath (21:10-15; 27:1ff), but a number of people protect him from the hostility of Saul. These include Saul's own children Michal (19:11-18), and Jonathan (ch.20), and Ahimelech the priest of Nob (21:1ff). As in SJR, the motif of reception brings to a close a significant stage in the presentation of the king : king designate relationship. There will be no more reported encounters between the two.

I. The death of the king (I Kings 11:43; I Sam.31: II Sam.1)

The death of the king from whom the king designate was forced to flee, marks an important turning point in SJR and SDR. It opens the way for the fulfilment of the promise of a kingdom made in the early part of SJR (I Kings 11:30ff) and SDR (I Sam.16:1-13). What can be produced in SJR in the form of an editorial notice, (vs.43), becomes in SDR two expanded stories about the death of the king, Saul. While

SJR tells us in a very factual manner that Jeroboam was in Egypt until the death of Solomon, which may be an attempt to remove him from the context of Solomon's death, SDR goes to great length to ensure that David is not linked to Saul's death. Like Jeroboam, he is not only away from the scene of death, but the narrator in each episode is clear in stating how and by whom Saul met his death (cf. I Sam. 31:4; II Sam. 1:6-10).

J. The king designate returns from the foreign land where he had gone to seek asylum (I Kings 12:2,20; II Sam. 2:1-3)

The return of the king designate introduces new momentum into SJR and SDR. It should be pointed out that 'return' is here treated as one of the structural themes common to SJR and SDR, and so historical problems and questions are outside the scope of our present discussion.⁷⁵

There are some textual problems relating to I Kings 12:2 and 20. In MT 12:2 reads, וַיָּשָׁב...בְּמִצְרָיִם whereas the parallel text in II Chron. 10:2 reads וַיָּשָׁב...

בְּמִצְרָיִם (and he...returned as opposed to dwelt of 12:2). Chronicles is supported by LXX (Codex Alexandrinus), the Syriac version of the Hexapla and the Vulgate. Most commentators prefer the alternative reading of Chronicles (וַיָּשָׁב... בְּמִצְרָיִם). The apparent tension that exists between vs. 2 and vs. 20 only arises if the material is being used to reconstruct the events leading up to the division of the Davidic kingdom. On purely literary and theological grounds, vs. 2 introduces the motif of return as early as possible into the narrative after the report of the death of Solomon. In this context, vs. 20 would then constitute a cumbersome

repetition of what has already been stated in vss. 2,3a. ⁷⁶

Whereas the return of Jeroboam is directly connected with the death of Solomon (vs.2) and the revolt of the northern tribes (vss.12,20), that of David is presented in terms of divine guidance (cf.II Sam.2:1). Here we encounter one of the significant differences in the presentation of Jeroboam and David. Jeroboam is presented as divinely designated and elected as king of the new northern kingdom (I Kings 11:30ff), but there is no hint of divine guidance in his move to kingship. Hence we are told that he returns of his own volition (12:2,20). On the other hand the motif of divine guidance of David is very strong in SDR. It is manifested not only in the so-called Beistandsformel ⁷⁷ but also by having David inquire of Yahweh before launching on his campaigns (I Sam.23:2; 30:7-8; II Sam.5:19), as well as before returning from exile (II Sam.2:1). Given the very favourable comments on Jeroboam (I Kings 11:28), the strong element of election (vss.30-37), and the Davidic-like promise of a יְהוֹשֻׁעַ-בֶּן-נֵחֵם the absence of any motif of divine guidance in the material relating to the return of Jeroboam must be counted as an oddity. It is possible that here we may have the first hint of the significant divergence that will occur in the Jeroboam and Davidic material, as we move nearer to the completion of the models that these two kings came to represent.

K. Kingship : The fulfilment of the promise (I Kings 12:20; II Sam.2:4; 5:1-3)

There are two important elements common to SJR and SDR in this final stage. These are (a) the role of the king's son, and (b) the role of the northern tribes. In both

stories the king's son is the catalyst that accelerates the march of the king designate to kingship. He seems to constitute little more than a theological/literary functionary that moves the promise of a kingdom (I Kings 11:30ff; I Sam.16:1-13; passim) to its fulfilment. Rehoboam and Ishbosheth are portrayed as inept, effecting a break in their relationship with a significant sector of their father's entourage : Rehoboam rejects the counsel of the ד'רז who were his father's advisers,⁷⁸ while Ishbosheth quarrels with Abner his father's אבנר-בן נר. These acts lead eventually to the revolt of the northern tribes and the offer of kingship to Jeroboam and David.

The northern tribes perform a crucial role in SJR and SDR at this stage. Their role is probably rooted in the old understanding of kingship as a gift to be offered. It therefore fits in well with the traditions in SJR and SDR which stress that kingship came to Jeroboam and to David as a divine gift (I Kings 11:11, 30ff; I Sam.15:28; 16:1-13). We have already drawn attention to the relationship between I Kings 12:16 and II Sam.5:1.⁷⁹ Although the words put into the mouth of the northern tribes in the two texts stand on opposite sides of the Davidic claims to kingship over all Israel, they seem to perform the identical theological and literary role : they move the promise of kingship to its fulfilment.

Given all that we have said about the structure of SJR and SDR, it would seem as if SJR can easily provide a thematic/literary skeleton upon which the more elaborate episodes of SDR can be easily attached. Each 'joint' in the skeleton becomes greatly enlarged and embellished in SDR, as

the compiler used traditional material to 'flesh out' the straightforward presentation of the basic themes of SJR. This is done with the specific purpose of emphasizing Davidic election to the kingship of all Israel. We can therefore make the following comparative outline of SJR and SDR:

	<u>SJR</u>	<u>SDR</u>
A. A command of Yahweh touching on Israel's relationship with other peoples.	Command (indirect) against foreign marriages, that can lead to the worship of foreign gods. (I Kings 11:2)	Command (direct) to יְהוָה יִמְלֹךְ Amalek. (I Sam.15:3)
B. The command is disobeyed	Solomon marries foreign women and worships their gods. (11:1,4-8)	Saul (and the people) spare Agag and the best of the spoil of Amalek (15:8-9)
C. The king's disobedience causes anger	Yahweh is angry with Solomon. (11:9)	Samuel (and Yahweh?) is angry with Saul (15:10-11)
D. There is a threat to take the kingdom from the disobedient king	<u>Threat without</u> <u>Symbolic action:</u> Yahweh will tear kingdom from Solomon (11:11)	<u>Threat without</u> <u>Symbolic action:</u> Yahweh rejects Saul from being king. (15:23b)
	<u>Threat with</u> <u>Symbolic action:</u> Ahijah tears his garment and declares that Yahweh is about to tear the kingdom from Solomon (11:31b)	<u>Threat with</u> <u>Symbolic action:</u> Samuel's garment is torn and he declares that Yahweh is about to tear the kingdom from Saul (15:27-28)

	<u>SJR</u>	<u>SDR</u>
E. There is a promise to give the kingdom to another person	The kingdom will be given to Solomon's servant, later identified as Jeroboam (11:11b, 30ff)	The kingdom will be given to Saul's neighbour later identified as David. (15:28b; 16:1-13)
F. There is a hostile reaction by the king to the one to whom the kingdom will be given	Solomon tries to kill Jeroboam (11:40a)	Saul tries to kill David (19:10, 11-17)
G. The king designate flees for safety to a foreign country	Jeroboam flees to Egypt (11:40b)	David flees...finally to Gath (27:1)
H. The king designate is given asylum by the king of the foreign country	Shishak receives Jeroboam and allows him to remain in Egypt until the death of Solomon (11:40b)	Achish receives David and gives him the city of Ziklag (27:6)
I. The king dies while the king designate is still in the foreign country	Jeroboam hears of Solomon's death in Egypt (12:2a)	The news of Saul's death is brought to David at Ziklag (II Sam. 1:1ff)
J. The king designate returns to Israel	Jeroboam returns on his own initiative (12:2b; 20)	David returns under divine guidance (II Sam. 2:1)
K. The promise of the kingdom is fulfilled	All Israel makes Jeroboam king of the north (12:20)	The men of Judah make David king over Judah (2:4) All Israel make him king over the north (1-3)

5. Kingship: The explanation and the interpretation of the contrasting experiences of history.

On the basis of the above outline, and in the context of all we have said so far, it seems as if the structure of SDR is very similar to that of SJR. SDR however goes beyond the Davidic claims of SJR to affirm the legitimate claim of the Davidic dynasty to kingship over all Israel.

But emerging out of this interaction of the two stories is what can be treated as a reflection and indeed an interpretation of an important national event, the division of the Davidic kingdom. And here we encounter what will develop to be a very crucial link between kingship and an important thread of the national experience. And this link is at work not only in the account of Jeroboam's rise, but also in SDR. The contribution of David to the consolidation of the nation must have surely been one of the main reasons for the subjugation of the house of Saul to (the house of) David in SDR. Thus a positive national experience, the rule of David is told against the background of what can be viewed as a negative one, the failure and the demise of the first king, Saul.

Although the division of the kingdom is treated as one of Israel's most painful national experiences, at least in SDR, it is an event and indeed the only one from which Jeroboam emerges in a positive light. However the negative and positive themes which are applied to the national experience and to kingship are present. Solomon is transformed into a model of disfavour and credited with the direct responsibility for the division of the Davidic kingdom, just as Saul becomes responsible for the demise of his dynasty and the establishment of David's.

This sets the stage and indeed opens the way to apply the same interpretation not only to the destruction of Jeroboam's dynasty, but more important to the destruction of his kingdom (cf. I Kings 13:33-34; 14:7ff).

But even at this early stage David functions as a blam to salvage what is presented as a bitter experience, i.e., the failure of Saul. Although kingship is the source of this experience yet in David an element of hope is introduced into the institution, and into the national experience. The antithesis of the good king (model of favour)/bad king (model of disfavour) is therefore set up. A similar antithesis is at work in SJR between Jeroboam and Solomon.

This antithesis which becomes the context within which the explanation of all the national experiences are to be found, finds expression in our three major themes. These themes are related to the two important institutions of dynasty and cult, and attempt to identify specifically, the reason for the numerous disasters which Israel experienced. They gather up the antithesis by affirming the Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem cult, and rejecting their counterparts in the North. The three themes which have been identified in our Introduction as Israel's legitimate dynasty, the legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence, and the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult, become the focal point around which much of the material from SDR onwards is constructed.

SJR and SDR can therefore be understood as part of the process which seeks to draw out of kingship an interpretation of history. The kingship created around Jeroboam and David constitutes the basis upon which the process is constructed.

In the next three chapters, we will be examining the development of the process beyond SJR and SDR. Special attention will be paid to the way Jeroboam and David are cast into contrasting models of kingship. This contrast is crucial for understanding the effect the kings are presented as having upon the flow and outcome of the history of their kingdoms.

NOTES TO CHAPTER I

1. The term "story" is preferred to "history" since the latter term seems to make certain claims which cannot be sustained given the theological and literary nature of the materials. The term "story" does not however rule out the possibility that there are some historical remnants in the two blocks of material. But as the two blocks now stand, they should probably be approached primarily on a literary and theological level rather than treated as sources that enable historical reconstruction.

cf. Gunn's discussion of this subject: The Story of King David pp. 37ff.

also: Wharton, J. A. 'A plausible tale, Story and Theology in II Sam.9-20; I Kings 1-2' INT 35 (1981) 341-354.

2. cf. Gooding, D. W. 'The Septuagint's Rival Versions of Jeroboam's Rise to Power', VT 17 (1967) 173-189.

Aberbach, M. and L. Smolar: 'Jeroboam's Rise to Power,' JBL 88 Part I, (March 1969) pp. 69-72.

Klein, R. 'Once More: Jeroboam's Rise to Power' Critical Notes, JBL 92, (1973) 582-584.

3. cf. von Rad's understanding of the role of the Promise-Fulfilment motif in the book of Kings: Studies in Deuteronomy, (London 1953) pp. 78ff.

4. cf. Gray, J. I & II Kings, pp. 288ff.

5. For an analysis of I Kings 11:1-8 into older and later material:

cf. Montgomery, J.A. A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings, ed. Henry Gehman (Edinburg 1951), pp. 231-232.

Würthwein, E. Die Bücher der Könige, I Könige 1-16
Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Neues Göttinger Bibelwerk,
Göttingen (1977), p. 131.

The claim of Nelson that the section I Kings 11:1-13 is "entirely Deuteronomic" seems to ignore the core of older material present.

- Nelson, R. D. The Double Redaction of the Deuteronomistic History, Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series 18, (Sheffield, 1981), p.109.
6. Burney, C. F. Notes on the Hebrew Text of the books of Kings, (New York, 1970) pp.152-153.
 7. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.280.
 8. Grønbaek, J. H. Die Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids (I Sam.15 - II Sam.5), Act a Theologica Danica Vol.10, (Copenhagen, 1971), pp.28ff, 37ff.
 9. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p.35.
 10. Weiser, A. VT 16 (1966) 325-354.
 11. Stoebe, J. Das Erste Buch Samuelis KAT Band VIII (Gütersloh, 1973), p. 296.
 12. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, Trans. J. Doull (Sheffield 1981) p. 124, n.2.
 13. Veijola, Die Ewige Dynastie, p.102, n.156.
 14. Alt, A. 'The Formation of the Israelite State in Palestine' Essays on Old Testament History and Religion, Trans. R. A. Wilson, (Oxford, 1966), pp.185-186.
 15. Rost, L. Einleitung in das Alte Testament von Ernst Sellin, 8th ed. (Heidelberg, 1950), p. 92.
 16. Veijola, Die Ewige Dynastie, p.102.
 17. Weiser, VT 16 (1966), p.326.
 18. Kessler, M. "Narrative Technique in I Sam. 16:1-13," CBQ 32 (1970), 543-554.
 19. cf. Weiser, VT 16 (1966), p.326.
 20. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p.124, n.2.
 21. Grønbaek, Aufstieg Davids p. 256ff.
 22. Veijola, Die Ewige Dynastie, p.98ff.
 23. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p.38.

- The so-called Beistandsformel occurs in I Sam. 16:18; 18:12, 14, 28; II Sam. 5:10; cf. also, II Sam. 7:3 and 9.
24. II Sam. 5:13-16 is normally treated as part of a larger list of David's household, the second part of which is to be found in II Sam. 3:2-5.
cf. Smith, Samuel, 1CC (Edinburgh 1904) p. 274.
 25. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p. 124, n. 2.
 26. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament (New York 1941) p. 339.
 27. Carlson, R. A. David the chosen king. A Tradition-Historical Approach to the second Book of Samuel (Stockholm 1964) pp. 46ff.
 28. Stoebe, Das Erste Buch Samuelis, pp. 296-299.
 29. cf. also, Hertzberg, H. W. I & II Samuel, OTL (London, 1964), pp. 240-44.
 30. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p. 40.
 31. Rendtorff, R. 'Beobachtungen zur Altisraelitischen Geschichtsschreibung anhand der Geschichte vom Davids', In: H. W. Wolff (ed.) Probleme Biblischer Theologie, Fs. von Rad, (München: 1971), p. 435ff, note 24.
 32. For a survey of the literature that addresses this problem,
cf. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p. 48, n. 1. See also his discussion of the several approaches to the material in the chapter, pp. 48-50.
 33. cf. Carlson, David, p. 97.
 34. Weiser, VT 16 (1966), 325-354.
 35. Budde, K. Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihr Aufbau, 1890, pp. 210ff.
 36. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 290.
 37. Nübel, H. Davids Aufstieg in der frühe israelitischen Geschichtsschreibung, (Bonn, 1959).

38. There have been some questions raised about both the beginning and the conclusion of the succession narrative.
cf. Gunn, King David, pp. 65ff; Mettinger, King and Messiah, pp. 27-32.
39. Montgomery, Kings, p. 235; also, Gray, I & II Kings, p. 279.

Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p. 133, n.31.
40. On the significance of this literary style in the Deuteronomistic History,

cf. Polzin, R. Moses and the Deuteronomist, pp.18ff.
41. Polzin, R. Moses and the Deuteronomist, pp. 25ff.
42. On the relationship between the Israelite tribes and the clan to which Nabal is said to belong,

cf. McKenzie, "Kenizzites," Dictionary of the Bible (London, 1968) p. 472.
43. cf. Dietrich, W. Prophetie und Geschichte. Eine Redaktions-Geschichtliche Untersuchung zum Deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerk FRLANT vol. 108 (Göttingen, 1972), p. 19.
44. cf. Noth, M. Könige I, Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament, Band IX/I (Neukirchen, 1968) p. 262.
45. cf. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, pp. 15ff.

Würthwein, I Könige 1-16, pp. 139ff;
I. Willi Plein, I, 'Erwägungen zur Überlieferung von I Reg. 11:26 - 14:20', ZAW 78 (1966), 8-24.
46. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, p. 19.
47. *ibid.*
48. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 297.
49. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, p. 19.
50. cf. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p. 34.
51. On the relationship between covenant and kingship in Israel,

cf. Veijola, Die Ewige Dynastie, pp.81ff.

52. cf. Gunn, The Fate of King Saul, pp. 95-96;
Jobling, The Sense of Biblical Narrative, p. 22.
53. cf. Carlson, David, p. 199.
54. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, pp. 258-259.
55. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 266.
56. cf. Aberbach, M. and L. Smolar, "Aaron, Jeroboam and the Golden Calves", JBL 86 (1967), 129-40.
57. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 202.
58. cf. Schmidt, L. Menschlicher Erfolg und Jahwes Initiative. Studien zu Tradition, Interpretation und Historie in Überlieferungen von Gideon, Saul, und David, WMANT vol.38, (Neukirchen, 1970).
59. cf. The opposite view of Mettinger, King and Messiah, p.36.
60. cf. Montgomery, Kings, pp.231-232.
61. cf. Malamat, "Origins of Statecraft in the Israelite Monarchy", BA, 28 (1965), 34-65.
62. On the problems of relating I Sam. 15 to the practice of 'Holy War',
cf. Gunn, The Fate of King Saul, pp.45ff.
63. cf. Burney, Kings, p.155; Montgomery, Kings, p.231-232.
64. cf. Montgomery, Kings, pp.231-232.
65. cf. *ibid*.
66. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p. 251;
67. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, p. 15; also,
Gray, I & II Kings, p. 295.
68. On the question of whose hem was grasped.
cf. Grenstein, E. L. " 'To Grasp the Hem' in Ugaritic Literature," VT 32 (1982) 217-218.
Brauner, R. A. " 'To Grasp the Hem' and I Sam. 15:27", JNES 6 (1974) 35-38.
69. Holscher, G. Das Buch der Könige, Sem Quellen und seine Redaktion (Göttingen 1923) p. 179.

70. cf. The threat to the ancestress in Gen.12:10-20;
20;26:6ff.
71. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 199;
Smith, p.214.
72. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 166.
73. cf. above, n. 2.
74. cf. Burney, Kings, pp. 163ff.
75. For a discussion on the historical problems raised about
the time of Jeroboam's return,
cf. Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judean History,
OTL (London 1977), p.386.
Aberbach and Smolar, JBL 88 (1969), 69-72.
Klein, JBL 92 (1973), 582-584.
Gooding, VT 17 (1967), 173-189.
76. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p. 248.
77. cf. above, p.16.
78. On the role of the Elders,
cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, pp.225-227.
79. cf. above, p. 26.

CHAPTER 2

Stage II of the Development of the Prototypes:The Establishment of National Shrines:(Kings
12:26-33; II; Sam.).1. King, cult and the interpretation of history.

The cult is given a crucial role in the interpretation of Israel's history as reflected in the Deuteronomic history. Jeroboam's establishment of the shrines of Dan and Bethel, and David's installation of the Ark in Jerusalem however seem to forge an important link between kingship and the cult. The role of the king becomes an extension of that attributed to the cult, thus making the cultic actions of the king one of the key factors determining the flow and outcome of the nation's history.

It is within this cult-king-history relationship that the royal models of disfavour and favour emerge. Kingship becomes the institution which provides the answers about the relationship between the nature of cult and the experiences of the nation. The nature of the cult of North and South and consequently the model of kingship which a close association with the particular cult represents, is firmly established in this stage.

The cultic importance of Jerusalem plays a crucial role in the process. Part of our task at this stage will be to explore how the two contrasting themes built around the establishment of the Jerusalem cult by David, and its rejection by Jeroboam, function to create the two contrasting models of kingship. An attempt will be made to draw out of the models any reflection upon the national experience which may emerge at

this stage. In this way, we will keep to the fore that important link between king, cult and history.

2. The delimitation of the units

(a) I Kings 12:26-33

Not all critics would treat 12:26-33 as a unit. There seems to be three basic approaches to the unity of this small pericope. One approach represented by Montgomery/Gehman treats vss.26-31 as being distinct from vss.32-33.¹ It is argued that vss.26-31 deal with Jeroboam's 'cultic innovations' while vss.32-33 draw attention to his 'presumptuous impiety.'² Vss.32-33 are then attached to ch.13 which is thought to be addressing the same problem.³

A second approach to the unity of 12:26-33 is reflected in the work of Noth,⁴ Rehm,⁵ Würthwein,⁶ and Gray.⁷ These scholars regard vss.26-32 as a unit and attach vs.33 to ch.13.⁸ The third approach which finds support in Burney⁹ and Skinner,¹⁰ regards 12:26-33 as a unit. The position of Burney and Skinner merit some serious consideration.

The two disputed verses 32 and 33, seem to be an integral part of the preceeding material. They seem to function more as a culmination of the report of Jeroboam's cultic innovations than as an opening to the story of ch.13. They tell of the extent to which Jeroboam's sin, i.e., his cultic innovations were carried.

The close relationship existing between 12:26ff and ch.13 in no way leads to, or necessitates the attachment of 12:32-33 to ch.13. This relationship seems to be based on the sin (12:26-33) - judgement/consequence (ch.13) structure so

prevalent in Samuel - Kings.¹¹ In the context of this structure all of Jeroboam's sins as listed in 12:26-33 rather than specifically his presence at the altar at Bethel (vss.32b-33) constitute the background to the story in ch.13. It is significant to note that in 13:1 we are again told that Jeroboam is at the altar of Bethel. This seem to reduce considerably the literary dependence of ch.13 upon 12:32b-33. 13:1 can be treated as the start of a new story, the previous one being concluded in 12:33. In our discussion, 12:26-33 will be treated as a unit, whose primary concerns are with the cultic innovations of Jeroboam.

(b) II Sam. 6

II Sam. 6 is widely regarded as a literary unit.¹² The unity of the chapter has however been subjected to some debate. Questions have been raised about the relationship of the Michal episode (Vss. 20-23) to the rest of the material in the chapter. Some scholars treat it as a late entry into the story of ch.6.¹³ As such it is an appendix to rather than an integral part of the story about the entry of the Ark into Jerusalem.

Rost raises some questions about the unity of ch.6 from a different angle. he removes the Michal episode from the story of ch.6 and assigns it to the beginning of the Succession story.¹⁴ Rost's argument rests heavily on his 'Ark narrative' theory.¹⁵ In this narrative which is concerned primarily with the fortunes and functions of the Ark,¹⁶ the Michal episode would be an oddity. It could then be assigned to another section of the David story as Rost does, or even be treated as a secondary accretion as mentioned earlier.

If however ch.6 is seen in the wider context of the story of David rather than in the more narrow contexts of an Ark narrative or Succession story, the Michal episode ceases to be an oddity and becomes an indispensable part of the chapter.¹⁷ It performs a very important function in the story of David. It links the central concerns of SDR, i.e., the legitimate claims of the Davidic house to kingship over all Israel, with another concern that is central to the Davidic material beyond SDR, the legitimacy of the Jerusalem cult and its demands upon all Israel. This is achieved by introducing into the story about David's establishment of the Jerusalem cult, the theme of the dynastic claims of the house of David. We are therefore inclined to treat the Michal episode as an integral part of ch.6, and consequently treat the chapter as a literary unit.

3. The presuppositions and affirmations of I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6.

In our analysis of SJR and SDR, we drew attention to the centrality of the theme of Davidic election in each group of traditions. But whereas SJR seem to modify the concept, restricting Davidic hegemony to the kingdom of Judah, SDR affirms in no uncertain terms, the divine election of David (and the Davidic house?) to kingship over all Israel.

The theme of Davidic election surfaces again in the materials following immediately after SJR and SDR, i.e., I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6. There are two significant things to note about the theme in these two narratives. First, the theme like that in SDR, strongly affirms Davidic election to kingship over all Israel (cf. I Kings 12:26-27; II Sam.6:20-23).

Secondly, it is closely linked to the issue of cultic legitimacy. Jeroboam who rules over what for the narrator is a legitimate part of the Davidic kingdom, creates two illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence (vs.28). The two shrines created can therefore be understood as one of the direct consequences of Jeroboam's rejection, of Jerusalem with its legitimate shrine, and the divine elected Davidic dynasty.

In contrast, David the one chosen by Yahweh to rule all Israel, rescues the Ark, and so enhances his status as Yahweh's elected. Its installation in Jerusalem as the (only) legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence, creates the crucial link between the election of David and that of Jerusalem as Yahweh's dwelling place. The Ark, David and Jerusalem become inextricably bound up to represent a firm indicator of Yahweh's presence among his people. David's relationship to the Ark and Jerusalem, can be held in contrast to Jeroboam's relationship to them.

As I Kings 12: 26-33 and II Sam.6 now stand, they can be seen to reflect a number of presuppositions about the Davidic dynasty, the Ark and Jerusalem. These in turn can be placed under three common themes, namely, "Israel's legitimate dynasty," "The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence," and "The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult." But whereas in I Kings 12:26-33 the presuppositions take the form of a number of "Accusations" against Jeroboam's dynasty and the northern cult, in II Sam.6 they are presented in the form of "Affirmations." This relationship between the two blocks of material can be set out as follows: (see overleaf).

Presupposition

Accusation

Affirmation

(I Kings 12:26-33)

(II Sam.6)

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

The Davidic dynasty is the legitimate ruler of all Israel.

Jeroboam who is an usurper ruling over a legitimate part of the Davidic kingdom prevents the people from returning to the house of David.
(vss.26-27)

David, who was elected king to replace the rejected Saul, is the legitimate ruler of all Israel.
(vss.20-23).

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

There can be no images of Yahweh, only the Ark to represent his power and his presence.


The bull images made by Jeroboam and declared the god(s) of the Exodus are illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence.
(vss.28-30).

The Ark is the (only) legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence.
(vss.6-12b).

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

There can be no legitimate Yahweh cult outside of Jerusalem.

The northern shrines of Dan and Bethel with their bull images constitute an illegitimate cult with illegitimate

- (i) Processions
- (ii) Priesthood
- (iii) 
- (iv) Sacrifice

Jerusalem where the Ark is housed is the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult with legitimate

- Processions
 - Priesthood
 - Sacrifice
- (vss.2-19)

(vss.30-32)

The above outline seems to reflect two basic questions. These are, who constitute the legitimate dynasty in Israel, and what are the important elements of the legitimate Yahweh cult?. We shall now analyse the two units of material to discover how these questions are addressed in the context of the "Presuppositions", "Accusations" and "Affirmations" as set out above.

(a) I Kings 12:26-33

This pericope consists of a series of accusations levelled at Jeroboam and the northern cult. Each accusation is based on a presupposition that seems to reflect a Judaeon/Jerusalemite perspective.¹⁸ We can therefore analyse the pericope by first stating the presupposition and then the accusation related to it.

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Presupposition

The Davidic dynasty is the legitimate ruler of all Israel.

Accusation

Jeroboam who is a usurper ruling over a legitimate part of the Davidic kingdom, prevents the people (of the North) from returning to their legitimate ruler, the house of David.

The words put into the mouth of Jeroboam in vss.26-27 make a firm link between the return (שׁוּב) of the kingdom to the house of David, and the death (הָרַג) of (the house of?) Jeroboam. These two motifs are held together by that of allegiance enabling the narrator to use the בֵּית-יְהוָה theme to support his presupposition. Thus allegiance בֵּית-יְהוָה

בִּירוֹשָׁלַם is presented as being just a step removed from allegiance to בֵּית דָּוִד. This spells death for Jeroboam and consequently the end of the secession from the house

of David. The double use of בְּיָד here is not unlike that in II Sam.7. In both cases its use reflects a close relationship between the house of David and the Jerusalem temple (cf. II Sam.7:5ff). In vss.26-27 the two are presented as being inseparable, reflecting one of the fundamental tenets of David-Zion theology.¹⁹

A bit more needs to be said about the בְּיָד motif in relationship to the presupposition of the narrator. The motif is used to underline the claims of the Davidic dynasty to kingship over all Israel. The verb occurs no less than three times within vss.26-27 :

- 1..... $\text{בְּיָד} \text{ הַמֶּלֶךְ לְבֵית דָּוִד}$
- 2.... $\text{וְשָׁב לִבְהֶם הָיָה אֶל-אֲדֹנֵיהֶם אֶל-רְחֶבְעָם}$
- 3..... $\text{וַהֲרֹגְנִי וְשָׁבוּ אֶל-רְחֶבְעָם מֶלֶךְ-יְהוּדָה}$

20

It is the second statement that betrays the narrator's true position. The crucial words in this statement are לִב and אֲדֹנֵיהֶם . Ringgren has pointed out that one of the many understandings of the heart (לִב) in the Old Testament is one that regards it as the "seat of religious knowledge".²¹ It is that part of man that make decisions about his religious response to Yahweh.²² The narrator in the second statement, may be implying that this power of right response was still at work in the people (בְּיָד הָיָה) even if absent from Jeroboam.

But this response for the narrator was one of return (שָׁב) to אֲדֹנֵיהֶם Rehoboam. In the context of the understanding of לִב mentioned above, שָׁב as it appears in the second statement may be a call to the people of the north to make the right response, i.e. return to the house of David,

and the house of Yahweh in Jerusalem.²³ Rehoboam who may be functioning here as a representative of the house of David is not only the people's king but also their lord. Since לְיָדָא can denote 'authority over' as well as 'exclusive claims upon' like those of a master upon his slave,²⁴ לְיָדָא as used in vss.26-27 may be supporting the belief in the exclusive rights of the Davidic dynasty to kingship over all Israel. The return of the people would therefore be a return to their legitimate master.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Presupposition

There can be no images of Yahweh, only the Ark in Jerusalem to represent his power and presence.

Accusation

The bull images made by Jeroboam and declared the god(s) of the Exodus are illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence (vss.28-30).

This presupposition combines the old prohibition against images with the great cultic importance credited to the Ark. By reporting the making of the calves immediately before the statement preventing pilgrimage to Jerusalem, the narrator is indicating that they should be understood as replacements for the cultic object to which the people went up (לְיָדָא) to Jerusalem, i.e. the Ark.²⁵ The calves are therefore replacements for the object that gave Jerusalem its cultic legitimacy. The thrust of the narrative is however, that there can be no substitute for the Ark, and consequently no replacement of the Jerusalem shrine.

These two points are ironically emphasized in the actions and words credited to Jeroboam in vs.28. This verse

constitutes the epitome of the narrator's polemic against the northern cult.²⁶ It indicates the extent to which the basic cultic rules contained in our presupposition were violated.

It would not be too meticulous to maintain that whereas vs.28a is clearly based on the tradition against images, vs. 28b goes beyond this to touch on the question of the manifestation of Yahweh's power and presence. The form of the image, i.e. a calf (bull), may be secondary to these two issues.²⁷ The prohibition against images is one that probably goes back to the "initial phase" of Israel's religion.²⁸ There is some debate about whether the prohibition reflects a "spiritualized conception of God",²⁹ or if, as von Rad claims, it reflects a concept that God is not at man's disposal.³⁰ However it is interpreted, it became one of the important pillars of Old Testament religion.³¹

Not that the prohibition was adhered to with a purist rigidity. The presence of Nehushtan in the Jerusalem sanctuary of all places testifies to this (cf. II Kings 18:4).³² Vs.28 seems to represent the 'purist' strand of the attitude to the presence of images in Israelite religion. One can hardly overlook the ironic contrast between the two actions of Jeroboam. Reading וְיָצַק יִזְבֵּה with MT instead of καὶ ἐποίησεν (וְיָצַק יִזְבֵּה) with Vaticanus and Lucian, this phrase can be seen to exist in sharp contrast with the phrase וְיָצַק יִזְבֵּה. The contrast is based on the tradition in the Old Testament that the giving and receiving of counsel (וְיָצַק) should lead to the improvement or the correction of a situation. Thus the counsel of

Jethro facilitates the judicial process in Ex.18, while that given to Absalom by Hushai, secretly on David's behalf, leads eventually to David's restoration to power (cf. II Sam.15:32-37; 16:1ff). On the other hand, the rejection of the right counsel can lead to disaster as in the story of Rehoboam (I Kings 12:6ff).

That which should lead to improvement and correction leads instead to disaster for Jeroboam. It leads to the breaking of the prohibition against images and consequently the rejection of an important element of the legitimate Yahweh cult. The fact that the images are calves, does add a wider dimension to Jeroboam's עֲלֻלִים but without necessarily intensifying it. His actions are simply placed within the wider context of Canaanite and indeed Near Eastern religion, where the bull was a widespread religious symbol.³³

There is a remarkable peculiarity about the reports about images as they appear in the Old Testament tradition, which may carry some important implications for our interpretation of vs.28b. The images are invariably reported to be those of other gods rather than of Yahweh (cf. II Kings 10:27; Amos 5:26). This may be a reflection of the concept of Yahweh's transcendence.³⁴ One of the basic tenets of this concept would be that Yahweh cannot be represented by an image. How far then is this 'peculiarity' mentioned above reflected in vs.28b?

It may be of some significance that in vs.28b the narrator uses the general term עֲלֻלִים for the calf images. Unlike the name Yahweh, עֲלֻלִים can be used in a very general sense and does not apply exclusively to the god of Israel.³⁵ Although it can be used in very close association with Yahweh,

and even interchangeably, it does not carry the same theological 'weight' as the name Yahweh.³⁶ The different significance attached to the two words can be grasped from the way they are employed in Ps.96:5 -

For all the gods of the people (אֱלֹהֵי הָעַמִּים)
are idols (אֱלֹהִים)
but Yahweh made the heavens.

This distinction between אֱלֹהִים and Yahweh should not be overlooked in the interpretation of vs.28b. Instead of the present phrase

הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הָעֵלֵנוּ מֵאֶרֶץ מִצְרָיִם

we could have had

הִנֵּה ?הָרָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל (cf.Ex.20:1)

The latter would identify the calves with Yahweh in a way that the former does not.

Nor does the reference to the Exodus suggest that the text should be interpreted to mean, that the people of the North identified the calves with Yahweh.³⁷ We may have at work at this point in the text the notion of misdirected allegiance, where as in Hos.2:5ff, the people are accused of crediting to another god (Baal), what belongs exclusively to Yahweh. This is still some distance away from the total identification of Yahweh with the calves of Dan and Bethel.

Given all that we have said above, could it be that the narrator in I Kings 12:26ff in spite of the strong polemical nature of the material, maintains that dominant tradition of the Old Testament that never identifies images or idols with Yahweh? If so, he is projecting two distinctive elements of illegitimacy onto the cult of the North. The

first is the employment of images in worship contrary to an ancient prohibition against this. The second is associating Yahweh's power manifested in the Exodus with an image that clearly represents another god.. The latter stands as an affront, not only to Yahweh, but to the only legitimate representation of his power and presence, the Ark in Jerusalem.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

In this section there is a general presupposition from which four specific ones are derived. The general one as stated above is :

There can be no legitimate Yahweh cult
outside of Jerusalem

We shall now examine the specific presuppositions in relation to the accusations against Jeroboam which they sustain.

(i) <u>Presupposition</u>	Jerusalem where the Ark is housed is the place to which pilgrimage is to be made.
<u>Accusation</u>	Jeroboam prohibits pilgrimage to Jerusalem and initiates pilgrimages to Dan and Bethel (vss.28b,29,30).

Jeroboam's prohibition against the people's pilgrimage to Jerusalem has often been linked to the celebration of the Feast of Tabernacles.³⁸ But the statements in vss.27a and 28b could refer to any one of the three pilgrim feasts listed in the festival calendar of Ex.34:18-24 (cf. also, Ex.23:14-17). The significance of the pilgrimage motif in the present context is probably less concerned with a particular pilgrim feast than with the belief that

pilgrimage to the Jerusalem sanctuary is an indispensable element of the legitimate Yahweh cult.

The idea that Jerusalem is the only place of pilgrimage is of course secondary to the general idea of pilgrimage as it appears in the old calendars of feasts in the Pentateuch. In these calendars of Ex.23:14-17 and 34:18-24, the stipulation simply demands the appearance of all males three times in a year לִפְנֵי יְהוָה (cf.23:17; 34:23). This term as here used can imply any sanctuary in Israel.³⁹ It was probably at a later date that it became closely associated with the presence of the Ark, so that "Before Yahweh" came to mean "In the presence of the Ark" (cf. II Sam.6:5,14,17,21; II Sam.7:18).⁴⁰

The story of I Sam.1 seems to indicate that pilgrimage could demand the journeying to the place where the Ark of Yahweh was housed. Worship "Before the Lord" means going to the shrine of the Ark (cf.I Sam.1:19).⁴¹ The same held true when the Ark came to rest in Jerusalem. The old demands of the cultic calendars to appear before Yahweh three times each year now meant appearing before the Ark in Jerusalem. This is clearly the understanding of Deut.16:16-17 as well as I Kings 12:26ff.⁴²

In I Kings 12:28b,29,30, Jeroboam stands accused on two counts given the above understanding of our pre-supposition. The first is his ban against making pilgrimages to Jerusalem, which constitutes the removal of an important element of the legitimate Yahweh cult. This point is powerfully expressed in the phrase, $\text{וְלֹא-לְכֶם מִצִּלּוֹת יְרֵמְיָהוּ}$. The use of the verb לָךְ may indicate that the prohibition of Jeroboam is to be understood as one against the participation

in one of the great pilgrim feasts of Jerusalem.⁴³

Alongside the prohibition against participation in the Jerusalem cult stands the statement about the people going to Dan and Bethel (vs.30): This constitutes the second count upon which Jeroboam stands accused. The shrines of Dan and Bethel are illegitimate and so are not true reflections of the Yahweh cult. This illegitimacy is underlined by having Jeroboam place a golden calf in each shrine. It seems however that the illegitimate status of the pilgrimages to Dan and Bethel is being linked more to the absence of the Ark at these shrines, than to the presence of the Canaanite fertility symbols of the calves, if as we have argued above, the Ark became the symbol par excellence of the legitimate Yahweh cult.⁴⁴

The לְכָדָן of vs.30 would therefore involve, not only what precedes in vss.28-29 but also what follows in vs.30b.⁴⁵ This point is appreciated by Burney who after some restoration of the text renders vs.30b -

for the people used to go before the
one to Bethel and before the other
unto Dan.⁴⁶

Gray interprets this verse to mean that the people made pilgrimage to Dan and Bethel.⁴⁷ In our opinion this is a correct interpretation. It seems however that the illegitimacy of the pilgrimages, a factor which the narrator is clearly attempting to emphasize, is better represented by rendering וַיֵּלְכוּ הָעָם "for the people went" than by Gray's, "and the people went".⁴⁸ The former phrase reflects the pivotal role of the לְכָדָן motif which not only holds together vss.28-29 and 30b, but penetrates the entire body

of the material in 12:26-33. Pilgrimage to Dan and Bethel constitutes one of the powerful expressions of the motif. This action is anathema to the narrator's basic presupposition that Jerusalem with Yahweh's legitimate sanctuary is the only place to which pilgrimages are to be made.

(ii) Presupposition	The Levites are the (only) legitimate priesthood in Israel.
<u>Accusation</u>	Jeroboam appoints non-Levitical priests to his sanctuaries (vs.31b,32b).

The process that led to the Levites being recognized as the only legitimate priesthood in Israel remains complex and somewhat obscure. It is difficult to identify the start of their climb to cultic ascendancy although some scholars are prepared to place it in an early period of Israel's history.⁴⁹ Another school of thought locate their origin in the non-Israelite priesthood of Kadesh.⁵⁰ It is claimed that they were converted to Yahwism and eventually became its "champions".⁵¹ This raises some questions about the tradition that Levi was the tribe entrusted with priestly functions in Israel.⁵² Eichrodt maintains that originally the Levites as a group of priests were distinct from the tribe of Levi, the identification of the two being a later process. This he claims was the work of the Aaronic group and was possible only after the disappearance of the tribe of Levi.⁵³ This theory does little to remove the obscurity surrounding the Levites' rise to priestly supremacy.

In discussions on the history of Israelite priesthood, the rise of the Levites to prominence was placed by Wellhausen within the second of the three phases into

which he divided the history. There was an early phase when there was no hereditary priesthood, a second corresponding to the period of the monarchy during which the Levites came to prominence and dominated the Jerusalem cult, and a third during the postexilic era, when the house of Aaron replaced the Levites.⁵⁴ De Vaux later adopted a similar approach in his treatment of the subject, dividing the history of priesthood into the eras of non-Levitical priests, Levitical priests, and the era of priests and Levites.⁵⁵

There seems to be some biblical support for the analysis of Wellhausen and De Vaux, although the position of De Vaux is more in keeping with the biblical evidence. His second era, the one with which we are specifically concerned, is most likely the era when there were deliberate attempts to trace the ancestry of all priestly houses to Levi.⁵⁶ The terms "priest" and "Levite" became synonymous. This is reflected in sections of the book of Deuteronomy that speak of the "Levite priests" (cf. Dt.18:1; 21:5; 24:8; 27:9; 31:9,25). The same term is found in Josh.3:3;8:3 and Ez.43:19-44;15. In Ez.40:46; 43:19 and 44:15, the house of Zadok is counted among the Levitical priests.⁵⁷

The narrator's comment in I Kings 12:31b clearly reflects the position of the above texts that all priests are Levites, and probably derives from the second era of the history of the priesthood.⁵⁸ But there seem to be two aspects to the accusation in 31b. One is contained in the term מִקְצוֹת קָצָם the second in לֹא-הָיוּ מִכִּנְיָ לְיָי. The first term is regarded by Aberbach and Smolar as crucial for the interpretation of Jeroboam's religious policy.⁵⁹ But

given the strong polemical character of the material the term may be more a reflection of the narrator's own position than an indication of the pedigree of the northern priesthood.⁶⁰

There has been some disagreement on how exactly $\text{מִן־הָעָם הַנִּזְכָּר}$ should be rendered. The Authorised Version (AV) probably under the influence of a Latin translation ex faece populi rendered $\text{מִן־הָעָם הַנִּזְכָּר}$ "From the lowest of the people".⁶¹ Most commentators reject this interpretation. But whereas the RSV renders the phrase, "From among all the people", Gray⁶² and Montgomery⁶³ prefer, "From the whole range of the people". This translation is close to Burney's, "From among the whole of the people".⁶⁴ It is based on the usage of the same phrase in such texts as Gen.47:2; Num.22:41 and Ez.33:2 where it definitely implies 'mass' or 'inclusiveness'.

But not all commentators are satisfied with the more or less 'neutral' translation above. Aberbach and Smolar⁶⁵ following Ehrlich,⁶⁶ render $\text{מִן־הָעָם הַנִּזְכָּר}$, "From among the best elements of the people", basing this on what they term "a proper understanding of the socio-political tensions present at the birth of a revolution".⁶⁷ A similar translation is found in Talmon who as an alternative to the Revised Version's "From among all the people", suggests, "From among the outstanding men of the people".⁶⁸ It seems however that this rendering of $\text{מִן־הָעָם הַנִּזְכָּר}$ like that of the AV introduces an element that finds no support in the text. In the case of Aberbach and Smolar, the socio-political factor seems alien to material that functions primarily at the level of polemical theology. In other words, I Kings 12:26ff as a later Judaeen polemic against the northern

cult gives us few historical clues about the birth of the northern cult.⁶⁹ An even greater weakness in the interpretations of Aberbach and Smolar, and Talmon, is the reversal of what is surely meant to be a negative statement about the northern priesthood into a positive one.

It seems therefore that the translation of Gray and Montgomery is by far the better one. It maintains the polemical character of the pericope I Kings 12:26ff, while remaining faithful to the better attested translation of

מִצָּצוֹת as 'whole', 'Sum', 'Mass', etc.⁷⁰ One hardly needs to adopt the translation of the AV to appreciate the first aspect of the narrator's accusation relating to the priesthood of the northern cult. By having Jeroboam recruit his priests from מִצָּצוֹת הָעֵץ there is above all else a violation of the hereditary principle that governed the recruitment of priests in the monarchical era.⁷¹ The distinction between כֹּהֲנִים and עֲצָרִים seems important for the narrator, lending some support to the suggestion that the material in I Kings 12:26ff has been influenced by one of the priestly circles in Jerusalem.⁷² Part of the accusation against Jeroboam is that he fails to make this distinction.

But the כֹּהֲנִים recruited by Jeroboam receive a more precise description in the phrase לֹא-הָיוּ מִבְּנֵי לֵוִי. If as we have claimed earlier, the accusation of vs.31b reflects the domination of the Jerusalem sanctuary by the Levites, then our phrase may be based not merely on the exclusive claims of the house of Levi, but more on the exclusive claims of the Jerusalem priesthood. These claims would be based on their association with Yahweh's only

legitimate cult, that of Jerusalem. Vs.31b is therefore another manifestation of the narrator's position that there can be no cultic legitimacy outside of the sphere of the cult in Jerusalem.

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|-----------------------------|---|
| (iii) <u>Presupposition</u> | The date of the הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשִּׁבְעִי is the 15th day of the seventh month. |
| <u>Accusation</u> | Jeroboam appoints a feast on the 15th day of the eighth month i.e. he changes the date of הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשִּׁבְעִי |

The fixing of the date of הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשִּׁבְעִי was in the early period of its history most likely "linked with the process of nature".⁷³ In the oldest cultic calendars (Ex.23:16; 34:22), the designation of the feast as 'the feast of harvest', seems to suggest a flexible date largely determined by the state of the crops. Since it is possible that the harvest could ripen at slightly different times each year, the celebration of the feast would reflect this pattern. The stipulations about the feast that occur in Ex.23:16; 34:22 seem to reflect a flexibility of date.

Ex.23:16b states, that the feast should be observed בְּצֵאת הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשִּׁבְעִי and Ex.34:22, בְּקֵץ הַשָּׁנָה. Whereas the latter phrase clearly points to the end of the year (lit. the circuit/going around of the year), the former can denote either the going out of the old year or the 'coming forth' of the new.⁷⁴ On these two interpretations of בְּצֵאת הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשִּׁבְעִי

הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשִּׁבְעִי could be celebrated either during the last week of the old year, or the first week of the new.⁷⁵ It seems therefore that there is some support for the claim that there was clearly "no hard and fast time" for the celebration of

הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשִּׁבְעִי at least in the early monarchy.⁷⁶

In contrast to the flexibility of dates reflected in Ex.23:16 and 34:22, Lev.23:33 states that the feast should be celebrated on the fifteenth day of the seventh month. This is clearly the presupposition behind the accusation in I Kings 12:32b. The shift in date attributed to Jeroboam constitutes for the narrator, a change in divine law, and as such an affront to Yahweh himself.

While Gray treats the precise date of vs.32b (15th day of 8th month) as reflecting a post-exilic fixing of the date of חג השבועות,⁷⁷ other scholars regard it as an indication of the earliest date of the festival. Morgenstern has argued that this date was probably nearer to the fifteenth day of the eighth month, than to the fifteenth day of the seventh month.⁷⁸ Morgenstern's argument is heavily dependent upon the work of Julius and Hildegard Lewy, who advanced the hypothesis that the dates of festivals in early Israel were fixed according to an old Canaanite "Pentecontad calendar".⁷⁹ It is thought that this calendar was distinctively agricultural in character. It was based upon the stages of the annual crop, dividing the year according to agricultural festivals.⁸⁰

In this calendar, Morgenstern maintains, the celebration of חג השבועות was on the fifteenth day of the eighth month. This was later changed by Solomon who abolished the old pentecontad calendar for a solar one to meet the needs of "international commerce".⁸¹ In this new calendar, חג השבועות was celebrated in the seventh month as opposed to the eighth month in the older calendar. This change, it is felt, never took root in the predominantly agricultural north, where the old calendar continued to be

used.⁸²

The theory of Morgenstern seems to offer a plausible explanation for the apparent difference in the celebration of חַג הַמִּצֵּיט as implied in I Kings 12:32a. It would mean that the innovation attributed to Jeroboam may have been no more than a resurgence of an old cultic tradition.⁸³ The narrator has however turned what would have been popular cultic practice into a polemic against Jeroboam and the northern cult. This is clearly reflected in vs.33 where the month in which the festival is celebrated in the north is described as one which כָּדָא מִלְּפָנֶיךָ.⁸⁴

Given the fact that the accusation of vs.32a may reflect an older traditional date for the celebration of

חַג הַמִּצֵּיט, and in the light of the polemical nature of I Kings 12:26-33, one must be extremely cautious about drawing historical conclusions on the basis of this material. In other words the accusations of 12:26-33 cannot be turned into historical statements about the state of the northern cult immediately after the secession of the tribes. We have already made this point in our discussion of the accusation about the non-Levitical nature of the northern priesthood,⁸⁵ and the same holds true for that about חַג הַמִּצֵּיט.

The opposite approach is however reflected in many of the discussions on 12:32a, which is treated as a statement about the actions in the establishment of the northern cult. Talmon therefore finds in the statement an attempt by Jeroboam to dissolve the ties binding Ephraim and Judah, by adjusting the calendar to "actual climatic and agricultural conditions prevalent in the north of Palestine".⁸⁶ Earlier, the weakness of this theory was pointed out by Dalman who

rejects the claim of a significant difference in climatic conditions between northern and southern Palestine.⁸⁷ The climatic/agricultural motive remains a weak basis upon which the support for the historical accuracy of vs. 32a can be built

Another interpretation of vs.32a, based on the assumption of its historical accuracy, links it to the celebration of the New Year festival. This interpretation, which finds support in Gray, sees in vs.32a an attempt by Jeroboam to create a counterpart of the New Year festival. The festival of Jeroboam intended to combine the sacrament of the covenant with the royal divine ideology of the Canaanite New Year festival.⁸⁸ It could also be interpreted, according to Gray, as a "hasty" move by Jeroboam to counter the influence of Rehoboam's recent accession as king over Judah at the New Year festival.⁸⁹ Gray's theory is based on the assumption that there was a New Year festival in Israel, as Mowinckel and others have claimed.⁹⁰ This festival, it has been argued, took place on the first day of the seventh month which Lev.23:24 declares as a day of solemn rest (*שַׁבְּתוֹן זִכְרוֹן*). The festival would therefore be a part of a great autumn festival that culminates with *חַג הַתְּשׁוּבָה* (cf. Lev.23:23-36).⁹¹

Apart from the fact that the existence of a New Year festival in Israel comparable to similar festivals in other nations of the Ancient Near East is still to be proved,⁹² the theory of Gray can find little support in 12:32a, even if it was treated as a historical statement. Vs.32a must therefore remain at the level of polemical 'accusation', having the specific purpose of creating Jeroboam into a model of disfavour. Picking up the pilgrim motif of

vss.26-30 where the narrator accuses Jeroboam of instituting pilgrimage to the wrong places, i.e. Dan and Bethel, he is accused in vs.32a of celebrating a great pilgrim feast on the wrong day. The motif is employed again in vs.33 where Jeroboam goes up (לַבֵּית)⁹³ to the altar at Bethel on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, the heretical date of חַג הַמִּסֵּכָה .

(iv) <u>Presupposition</u>	Sacrifice is to be offered by the legitimate cultic functionary, the priest.
<u>Accusation</u>	Jeroboam usurps the office of the priest and offers sacrifice (vs.32b).

Although the idea that only the priest was allowed to offer sacrifice is probably late,⁹⁴ it undoubtedly represents a long process in which certain cultic acts became the exclusive right of the priest. Sacrifice was one of the more significant of these acts. There is some biblical evidence to indicate that during the various stages in the development of the system of sacrifice, persons other than priests could perform the rite (cf. I Sam.2; II Sam.6:13,17; I Kings 8:62-63). It is possible however that at most stages the priests performed some specific function at the sacrificial ceremony. These functions probably involved the enforcement of the regulations governing the offering of sacrifice,⁹⁵ as well as the pronouncement of certain declaratory formulas (cf. Ex.29:28).⁹⁶

It would seem however that there is some ambiguity surrounding the king's role in the sacrificial rite, at least in Samuel-Kings. Only four kings, Saul, David, Solomon and Jeroboam are reported offering sacrifice. Of these, Saul and

Jeroboam are criticized for doing so, whereas David and Solomon are not. Although the story in I Sam.13 contains the reason for Samuel's criticism of Saul's offering of the sacrifice, which clearly links up with the command of Saul in I Sam.10:8, there may be a second reason which may also be present in the presupposition behind I Kings 12:32b. The narrators in I Sam.13 and the one in I Kings 12:32b;33 seem to be stating that Saul and Jeroboam do not possess the right to function as priest-king. This is in contrast to the roles of David in II Sam.6 and Solomon in I Kings 8:62ff. Do we therefore have reflected in I Kings 12:32b a tradition that understands the role of priest-king to be the sole prerogative of the Davidic dynasty?

The world of the Ancient Near East was familiar with kings whose official duties involved functioning as priests on certain occasions.⁹⁷ In II Sam.6 and I Kings 8, David and Solomon respectively function as priests on what are to be understood as two great cultic occasions in Israel. This is in keeping with the pattern of Mesopotamia, and as McKenzie has pointed out, may suggest that the king was the head of the priesthood.⁹⁸ (cf. also, II Sam.24:25; I Kings 3:4,15; 9:25; 12:33; II Kings 16:12-15). Ps.110 gives special insight into the priest-king concept in Israel. This psalm applies the concept specifically to the Davidic dynasty.⁹⁹ The king of the Davidic line is pronounced a priest, and the legitimate successor of the priest-king Melchizedek. He is legitimate king and legitimate priest. This belief formed the basis for much of the royal ideology of the Davidic dynasty.¹⁰⁰

Like so many of the other cultic traditions present in I Kings 12:26-33, that of priest-king was no doubt used to convey a measure of prestige upon the Jerusalem cult. When it was applied to the Davidic dynasty, it became one of the other exclusive traditions of the Jerusalem cult, restricting this ancient cultic function to the Davidic dynasty. The narrator of I Kings 12:26-33 maintains this exclusive understanding of the priest-king tradition. Jeroboam, an illegitimate king (vs.26-27) who establishes an illegitimate cult (vss.28-32a), is also an illegitimate priest (vs.32b). The accusation in vs.32b constitutes one of the important elements that creates Jeroboam into a model of disfavour.

(b) II Sam.6

When II Sam.6 is read against the background of the preceding Davidic material, especially the acquisition of kingship over all Israel, and the conquest of Jerusalem (II Sam.5), the chapter seems to make some important statements about the importance of the Ark, Jerusalem and the Davidic dynasty for the cultic life of Israel.¹⁰¹ Indeed the story in ch.6 seems to make such strong claims for these three institutions that the claims should be treated as affirmations about the Ark, the cultic importance of Jerusalem, and the election of the Davidic dynasty. There are three basic affirmations, each containing a number of themes and sub-themes. In this section we shall be examining these affirmations, but shall go on to show that many of the themes of II Sam.6 are also present in I Kings 12:26-33, and have important implications for the interaction

of the two models of kingship represented by Jeroboam and David.

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Affirmation

The Davidic dynasty is the legitimate ruler of all Israel, and custodian of the Yahweh cult. (vss.20-23).

Within vss.20-23, the motif of the election of the Davidic dynasty is fused with the motif of the cultic significance of the Ark. The latter is expressed in terms of blessing (בִּרְכָה) as in vss.11b,12a and 18. As the Ark brought blessings to the house of Obed-edom, so David as custodian of the Ark brings blessings to his house. This is an expression of his election by Yahweh which is linked directly to the presence of the Ark in Jerusalem (vs.21).¹⁰²

By placing the statement about the election of the Davidic dynasty within the immediate context of Michal's rejection of David, and the wider context of the installation of the Ark in Jerusalem, the narrator cleverly extends Michal's rejection to include the Jerusalem cult (i.e. the Ark) as well. By rejecting David, Michal rejects Yahweh. This is implied in the words of David in vs.21, where his actions that caused the offence to Michal, were performed

לִפְנֵי יְהוָה who elected him to be נָגִיד over Israel. The narrator strengthens the Davidic claims by reminding his readers that it was in the place of the rejected Saul that David was elected. The one who establishes the legitimate Yahweh shrine, is himself a legitimate king, elected to office by none other than Yahweh himself.

David's statement in vs.22, along with the comment

of vs.23, underline the election/dynastic motif of vs.21. If as Petersen claims, 'ikkabeh' in vs.22 "implies first and foremost" the possession of sons,¹⁰³ then David's reply (vs.22) and the comment of vs. 23 may be an emphasis on the continuation of the Davidic dynasty in spite of the non-participation of the house of Saul (Michal) in the process.

The continuation (survival?) of the Davidic dynasty is seen to depend, not on the benevolence of the house of Saul, but on the goodness of Yahweh alone. This point is further re-emphasised through the motif of Michal's barrenness. This motif is nothing short of an outright rejection of any joint claims by the house of Saul to kingship over all Israel. Michal's failure to produce an heir can also be interpreted as forfeiting to the house of David exclusive claims to kingship over all Israel.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Affirmation The Ark is the (only) legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (vss.2ff).

This affirmation is reflected in the statement of vs.2b, and also in the Uzzah episode (vss.6-11). In vs.2b we have a description of the Ark which is crucial for understanding it as a symbol of Yahweh's power and presence. The Ark is identified with the name of Yahweh and as the place where he resides.

To be called by the name of the 'Lord of hosts' is to share in his power, given the understanding of the significance of a name in the Ancient Near East and in Israel. The word 'name' (Heb.sem) is often used in association with the name 'Yahweh' in the Old Testament tradition as a synonym of Yahweh's power. In Ex.23:21 the name of Yahweh is linked to the supreme manifestation of his power, the exodus from Egypt. The messenger

is endowed with power of Yahweh and is able to protect and guide Israel on the journey through the wilderness because the name of Yahweh is in him.

The attributes of the name of Yahweh are attributes of power, and in turn are attributes of Yahweh himself. In I Sam. 17:45 David accuses Goliath of approaching him with merely a spear and a javeline, while David approaches the fearsome giant in the name Yahweh. The power of the name of Yahweh is therefore placed over against the power of the spear and javeline. That David is the one who wins the contest affirms the power of the name of Yahweh.

It is within this context of the tradition about the power associated with the name of Yahweh, that link created between the Ark and Yahweh's name is to be understood. It is also to be understood in the context of the decisive role of the Ark in war (cf. Jos.6:11ff), and its power over Israel's enemies even when the standing army is defeated. Hence it continues to exert power over the Philistines long after they had defeated the army of Israel (I Sam.5 and 6). The Ark as a manifestation of Yahweh's power conquers his enemies and consequently brings salvation to Israel (cf. Ps.68: Num.10:35ff).

The description of the Ark as the place where Yahweh is enthroned introduces another motif of power. This is the theme of Yahweh's kingship which is closely bound up with the Ark. Thus the movement of the Ark into the sanctuary, symbolises Yahweh's entry as king (cf. Ps.24:7ff). The close relationship that is thought to exist between Yahweh's kingship and his power is well documented in the Psalms. Ps.95:3-5 and Ps.99:1-2 are two good examples of this. Both reflect a close link between Yahweh's kingship and his power. Ps.99:1-2 apart from emphasising Yahweh's power contains

a clear reference to the Ark:

Yahweh reigns (**יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ**); ¹⁰⁴ let the peoples tremble,
He sits enthroned upon the cherubim
let the earth quake!
Yahweh is great in Zion; he is exalted over all the
peoples.

The theme of Yahweh's power and kingship also finds expression in vs.4a where he is described as **יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ** .

Given all that we have said above, we can safely claim that the phrase **יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ** used in reference to the Ark, defines it as an important symbol of Yahweh's power as well as his presence. We would not be too far astray if we claim that it seems to identify the Ark as the only cultic object that can represent Yahweh's power and his presence. This may be reflected in the other part of the description of the Ark, **אֲשֶׁר-יִקְרָא שְׁם יְהוָה**. Very few things in the Old Testament are described as being "called by the name of Yahweh". The phrase occurs in Deut.28:10, where it refers to Israel, depicting her as a special nation among all the peoples of the earth. This position of Israel no doubt, is based on her unique relationship with Yahweh, something which the other nations do not enjoy. In a similar way, the Ark exists in a "unique relationship" with Yahweh, representing his power and presence in a way that no other cult object can.

This understanding of the Ark is 'illustrated' in the Uzzah episode (vss.6-11). This episode has called forth much discussion, most of it concentrating on its cultic significance. Gray finds in the name Perez Uzzah, traces of the cult of the star Venus, ¹⁰⁵ whereas Kraeling thinks that

the name refers to the "adyton" in which the Ark was kept in the sanctuary of Obed-edom.¹⁰⁶ Other scholars have concentrated on the cultic significance of the threshing floor, detecting some influence of the Canaanite fertility rites in vss.6-11.¹⁰⁷ Mowinckel has argued that the pericope reflects an annual חַג הַמִּצֵּחַ festival procession which started from the temple of Obed-edom to which the Ark had previously been brought, the procession moving into Jerusalem to the temple.¹⁰⁸ Another important aspect of the discussion finds in the episode an attempt to account for the replacement of the priestly family of Abinadab by the Zadokites of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁹

As ingenious as these interpretations of the Uzzah episode may be, the episode is above all else an affirmation that the Ark is the symbol of Yahweh's power and presence. This is captured in the phrase פָּרַץ הָיָה לָנוּ בְּעֶזְרָה (vs.8). The verb פָּרַץ in the qal stem carries several meanings. It can be rendered, 'to break' or 'breakdown', e.g. a wall, 'to cause a break', 'scatter' or 'disperse'.¹¹⁰ The noun פְּרִיצָה can be translated 'a breaking forth' (cf. Gen.38:29), but can also be rendered 'overthrow', 'calamity' or 'a breach in the wall'.¹¹¹ Both words have strong connotations of power that are associated with the possession of superior strength in war. Hence the comment of Smith :

Yahweh....literally had broken a breach¹¹²
such as gives a city into the hands of
the enemy.

Hertzberg on the other hand remarks that Uzzah was killed by the "blow of Yahweh".¹¹³

The war motif of vs.2b resurfaces in פָּרַץ and פְּרִיצָה treating the Ark as a symbol of the power that Yahweh uses against his enemies. A similar concept is to be found

in earlier stories about the Ark, especially in the Dagon episode of I Sam.5:1-5 (cf. also, vss.6-12). It also finds support in David's rhetorical question (vs.9), which constitutes his surrender in the face of the great odds against him (cf.vss.10-11).

But the narrator of II Sam.6 preserves another tradition about the Ark as a symbol of Yahweh's power and presence, that stands in stark contrast to the story of Uzzah. This is the tradition about the blessings associated with the Ark (vss.11b,12a).¹¹⁴ The double report of the blessing of the household of Obed-edom may be the narrator's method of emphasizing that a new era had begun in the relationship between the Ark and all it symbolizes, and Israel. Within this wider relationship was the more special one with David and his household, and Jerusalem. The moving of the Ark to Jerusalem is therefore to be understood as moving also the blessings that are now associated with it. Lucian captures this idea by inserting after the report of the blessing of Obed-edom in vs.12a,

καὶ εἶπεν δαυὶδ ἐπιστρέψω τὴν εὐλογίαν
εἰς τὸν οἶκόν μου

(And David said, 'I will turn the
blessing to my house')

Carlson has correctly pointed out, that although the verse is most likely secondary, it is "correct in its intention".¹¹⁵ The tradition identifying the presence of the Ark with Yahweh's power to bless, became one of the corner stones upon which much Judaeen theology was built. The traditions of Yahweh's election of the Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem cult, are undoubtedly two of its manifestations.¹¹⁶

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Affirmation

Jerusalem, where the Ark is housed, is the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult.

The status that Jerusalem enjoyed as a national cultic centre was to a very large extent due to the presence of the Ark.¹¹⁷ Campbell¹¹⁸ and Kraus¹¹⁹ have noted that the narrator in II Sam.6 stresses that the presence of the Ark in Jerusalem was due more to the providence of Yahweh than to the power of David (cf.vs.9-12). The choice of Jerusalem as Yahweh's resting place is therefore his free choice.¹²⁰

David is however given a very important role in II Sam.6. He leads the Ark procession into Jerusalem (vs.14), and prepares a tent (הֶאֱתָן) in which the Ark is installed (vs.17a). The placing of the Ark בְּמִקְוֹמוֹ בְּתוֹךְ הָאֵתָן must surely be anticipation of its permanent resting place in the temple of Solomon.¹²¹ Besides, given the fact that the temple could be also called a tent (cf.Pss.15:1; 27:5; 61:5;78:60), there is a strong possibility that here we may have a merging of two separate traditions of Yahweh's presence among his people, the traditions of the Ark and the Tent.¹²² Jerusalem becomes the place where Yahweh is present on a permanent basis, and consequently the place where he meets his people. It is therefore to Jerusalem that Israel must go to meet Yahweh.

The placing of the Ark into the tent is to be understood as the point at which Yahweh's power to bless which is linked to the Ark in vss.11b,12a, comes to rest in Jerusalem. Indeed it is the point at which Yahweh himself takes up abode in Jerusalem (cf.Ps.132:1ff). It is hardly

surprising that it is presented as a time of festive drama (vss. 14-16), and solemn cultic ceremonies (vss. 17-19). Yahweh as king comes to take up residence in his city. The occasion is described by the narrator of II Sam. 6 as one of cultic pomp and ceremony, in which David plays the leading role.

In this way, the narrator is able to combine the importance of the Ark, with the cultic significance of Jerusalem and the Davidic dynasty. As the place which now becomes the home of the Ark, the ancient legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence, the cultic status of Jerusalem is affirmed. It is now the elected place of the Yahweh cult, and owes its status not to David, but to Yahweh who prompts David to make Jerusalem his (Yahweh's) dwelling place.

The Ark, David and Jerusalem, now merge to become the important indicators of Yahweh's saving presence and power at work in Israel. Each becomes a channel, a crucial link between Yahweh and the nation. Beyond II Sam. 6, Yahweh's relationship to the nation, as well as the experiences of the nation are all interpreted in the context of the ambit created by the Ark, the Davidic dynasty and Jerusalem. Thus Jeroboam's rejection of all three is interpreted as a sin which leads to destruction (I Kings 12:30; 13:1ff, 33; 14:7ff; II Kings 17:21-23). In a similar manner, Manasseh's refusal to acknowledge the cultic significance of the Ark (temple) and Jerusalem, and the cultic responsibility of the Davidic dynasty, leads to the destruction of cult, dynasty and nation (II Kings 21:11-15; 23:26-27; 24:3-4).

II Sam. 6 can be understood as a reminder of this significance and responsibility. The events recorded here constitute a watershed not only in the history of the Jerusalem and national cult, but also in the history of the nation. Jerusalem is undoubtedly affirmed as the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult, but the Michal episode seems to indicate, this will not be

readily embraced by all. The door remains open to the possibility that Jerusalem, along with the Ark and the Davidic dynasty may be rejected and bring disaster (barrenness) to all who do so. Blessedness (vss.12,20) and barrenness (vs.23) are the two direct consequences of acceptance and rejection of the Ark and of Jerusalem where it rests, and of the Davidic dynasty its custodian.

4. Five common themes of I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6 which function to create the royal models of disfavour (Jeroboam) and favour (David).

The narrators of I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6 create Jeroboam and David into models of kingship which stand in sharp contrast to each other. The 'Accusations' and 'Affirmations' which we have already examined in the context of our three broad themes have begun the process of creating the kings into the contrasting models. We now draw out from these three themes five more themes, which facilitate the creation of the models, and sharpen their contrasting features.

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

First theme: Dynastic claims in the context of rejection

Jeroboam fears rejection by his subjects and identifies Rehoboam as lord of his (Jeroboam's) kingdom (vss.26-27)

David is rejected by Michal, but declares his election by Yahweh to be prince over all Israel in place of Saul (vs.21)

By placing a confession of the Davidic claims to the northern kingdom upon the lips of Jeroboam at the very beginning of an account about the consolidation of his kingdom, the theme of legitimacy is at once introduced into the narrative. Like Saul in I Sam.24:16-21, Jeroboam confesses the legitimate dynastic claims of his rival.

The immediate context of fear of rejection and fear of death accentuates the weakness of Jeroboam's kingship and the vulnerability of his kingdom. The Davidic dynasty becomes a threat, and he is

placed in a peculiar relationship to the Yahweh cult in Jerusalem: what should be a symbol of salvation, becomes a symbol of death. This close link between the kingship of Jeroboam and death, continues into I Kings 13 and 14 and is reflected in the 'death' of his hand (13:4) and the death of his son (14:12ff).

The motif of rejection which functions as a context for questioning the legitimacy of Jeroboam's claim to kingship, is used by the narrator of II Sam.6 to affirm the claim of David to kingship over all Israel. In contrast to Jeroboam, David is portrayed as having very strong claims to kingship. This is reflected in his retort to Michal which cites Yahweh as the one who elected him as מֶלֶךְ in place of Saul. In their present context the words of David function as a declaration of his and probably his dynasty's indisputable claim to kingship over all Israel. This " מֶלֶךְ consciousness"¹²³ of David stands in direct contrast to the ' מֶלֶךְ consciousness' of Jeroboam. We may also note that the two contrasting types of consciousness attributed to the two kings are linked to conflicting attitudes to the Jerusalem cult. מֶלֶךְ is linked to the establishment of the Jerusalem cult symbolized by the installation of the Ark, whereas מֶלֶךְ is linked to Jeroboam's rejection of Jerusalem and his establishment of rival shrines.

By placing the claims of the Davidic dynasty upon the lips of Jeroboam and David, the narrators of I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6 are able to affirm their own convictions about Israel's two rival dynasties, and at the same time create Jeroboam and David into contrasting models of kingship. Jeroboam by acknowledging Rehoboam as the מֶלֶךְ of his own

kingdom, brings into sharp focus the illegitimacy of his claims to kingship. David by reminding Michal of his status, underlines the role of Yahweh in the establishment of the Davidic dynasty as a replacement of the rejected Saul.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Second theme: The symbols of Yahweh's power and presence

Jeroboam installs calves at Dan and Bethel as symbols of Yahweh's power and presence (vss.28-29).

David installs the Ark in Jerusalem as the symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (vs.17).

The Old Testament contains no explicit statement about how Yahweh's power and presence should be represented in Israel. The prohibition against images in the decalogue presents the negative side of the problem, and simply states that Yahweh should not be represented by an image of any kind.¹²⁴ The Ark which was clearly not to be thought of as an image of Yahweh, eventually emerged as the symbol of Yahweh's power and presence.¹²⁵ The process that led to the conferring of this status upon the Ark is very difficult to determine, since most of the traditions about the Ark as they now stand, represent the merging of older and later traditions.¹²⁶ The Ark tradition supplanted another ancient tradition that accounted for Yahweh's presence i.e. the tradition of the sacred tent (אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד), and emerged, at least in Judaeen circles, as the only legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence.¹²⁷

In reality however, the Ark was probably only one of the many symbols of deity within Israel. The others were

the Cherubim,¹²⁸ the bronze serpent נִשְׁכָּן¹²⁹ and the image of a bull.¹³⁰ But while the first two were absorbed into the official Yahweh cult of Jerusalem, the cherubim tradition merging with that of the Ark, the bull tradition remained outside of the official Yahweh cult of Jerusalem. Eventually the two were viewed as being diametrically opposed to each other.¹³¹

In I Kings 12:28-29, Jeroboam becomes the focus of the Jerusalem tradition that stands opposed to the use of the bull symbol to represent Yahweh's power and presence. He becomes the one responsible for introducing what the narrator regards as an alien cultic symbol into Israel. The twin motifs of power and presence are captured in the words placed into Jeroboam's mouth in vs.28. He declares that the god of the people is present :

הִנֵּה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יִשְׁכֵּן

and mentions the greatest manifestation of his power,

אֲשֶׁר הֶעֱלֵנוּ מִן־הָאָרֶץ מִצְרָיִם . We have already discussed

this verse in some detail, adopting the position that it is accusing Jeroboam of idolatry as well as misplaced allegiance.¹³² The accusation is reflective of the tension that existed between the Jerusalem shrine and those of the North.¹³³

The centrality attributed to the bull symbols in I Kings 12:26-33, has led some scholars to identify their function with that of the Ark in the Jerusalem temple.¹³⁴ The Judaeen narrator may therefore be rejecting the cultic status given to the bull symbols in the northern shrines. For him, this status was reserved exclusively for the Ark in Jerusalem. What was the exact function of the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel is difficult to determine. On the basis of the function of similar images in the other religions of the Ancient Near

East, several scholars have argued that Jeroboam's images functioned as pedestals upon which Yahweh was thought to be enthroned.¹³⁵ The concern of the narrator is clearly not with the function of the images as pedestals. They constitute, in his view, the cultic symbols of an illegitimate cult, and as such cannot represent Yahweh's power and presence.

Both I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6 seem to reflect the tension that existed between a theology of Yahweh's presence, and an iconic propensity towards his visualization. II Sam.6:2 seems to suggest one solution to the problem : the Ark is surely the symbol of Yahweh's presence since he is enthroned upon it (*יְהוָה צָבָאוֹת יֹשֵׁב הַכְרֻבִּים*), but he is invisible. He is neither the cherubim nor the Ark. They simply constitute his throne.¹³⁶ There can be no visualization of Yahweh, given the theological position of 6:2. The narrator of I Kings 12:26-33 imputes the very opposite to the northern shrines. There, according to him, presence and visualization become synonymous. The bull symbols are therefore addressed by Jeroboam as *אֱלֹהֵינוּ* (vs.28).

Jeroboam and David are therefore presented as the champions of two opposing understandings of the relationship between Yahweh's presence and his visualization. The former fails to maintain the tradition represented by the Ark in which the belief in the power and presence of Israel's God does not demand his visualization in any form. David not only maintains the tradition but is credited with placing it at the very centre of the cultic life of his kingdom.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Third theme : Pilgrimage/procession to Jerusalem

- (a) Jeroboam expresses fear David and the people go to
about his subjects going Baale-Judah to bring up the
up to worship at Jerusalem Ark to Jerusalem.
(vss.26-27)

The theme of pilgrimage/procession to Jerusalem is linked directly to the power of the king in each unit. In the Jeroboam passage, he is depicted as being threatened by the people's allegiance to the Jerusalem sanctuary. Going on pilgrimage to Jerusalem is therefore an indication of his powerlessness. The ultimate manifestation of this would be the return of the kingdom to the Davidic house and his death (vs.27).

Jeroboam's fear and powerlessness brought on by the people's pilgrimage to Jerusalem, are in stark contrast to the power of David. The latter is able with כָּל-בְּחַיִּיר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל (30,000), to bring up the Ark to Jerusalem.¹³⁷ He is in control of his people (כָּל-הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ) who join in the effort to return to prominence the legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence.

- (b) Jeroboam forbids pilgrimage to Jerusalem David initiates a grand
(vs.28). procession to Jerusalem
(vs.2,12).

The negative element that is introduced into the Jeroboam material through the motif of fear (vss.26-27) is sustained by the prohibition of vs.28. Whatever reasons there might have been for the decline in the attraction of Jerusalem as a place of pilgrimage for the people of the North, vs.28 makes it the direct responsibility of Jeroboam. This no doubt, is a popular polemical explanation of a more complex

process.¹³⁸ The cogency of the phrase רַב-לָּקֶם מֵעֲלוֹת

וְרַחֲשֵׁי לֵימָּה seems to suggest that it should be understood as constituting more than a simple prohibition. The phrase is normally translated, "You have gone up long enough to Jerusalem" (cf. Deut. 1:6; 2:3). But a similar phrase in Ez. 44:6,

רַב-לָּקֶם מִכָּל-תּוֹעֲבוֹתֶיכֶם is rendered by most commentators, "Enough of all your abominations...."

This translation clearly contains an element of disgust and disdain.¹³⁹ In spite of the difference in context, the

possibility that this element may also be contained in the phrase of I Kings 12:28 cannot be ruled out.¹⁴⁰ Given this

possibility, the narrator puts into the mouth of Jeroboam an expression of disdain for the legitimate Yahweh cult in Jerusalem. The cultic measures of Jeroboam are to be understood as the practical manifestations of this disdain.

In contrast to Jeroboam, David as leader of the party which goes to recover the Ark, initiates a grand procession to Jerusalem. The narrator provides us with some details of the initial stage of the procession, which may suggest that these details carry some cultic significance for him. We may note these details :

- (a) The Ark is placed אֶל-עֲגֹלָה הַדָּשָׁה
 - (b) It is brought out מִבֵּית אֲבִינֶדָב אֲשֶׁר בַּגִּבְעָה
 - (c) אֲחִיּוֹ and אֲזָזָה (Uzzah and Ahio) drive the new cart
 - (d) David and כָּל-בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל danced לְפָנָיו הָהֵּן with all their strength.
- (vss. 3-5).

David's supervision and control of the events are in keeping with the great cultic importance that the narrator attaches to the Ark. In contrast to Jeroboam's rejection of the Ark,¹⁴¹

David displays the reverence as well as the joy that this great symbol of Yahweh's power and presence demands. It is no coincidence that the Ark is placed on a new cart. This implies a state of ritual rectitude for which David is largely responsible. The same can be said of the employment of Uzzah and Ahio as guardians of the Ark.

There are numerous problems relating to the significance of these two names. While most commentators treat MT אֲחִיו וּזְזָה as two proper names "Uzzah and Ahio",¹⁴² Wellhausen, influenced by LXX, changes אֲחִיו to read אֲחִיו (his brother).¹⁴³ Budde on the other hand, has suggested that the name Zadok be inserted before Ahio to read "Uzzah and Zadok his brother..."¹⁴⁴ In spite of the difference of these three positions, they all seem to display an inclination to link a legitimate priestly figure with the movement of the Ark to Jerusalem. Thus Hertzberg who supports the first position identifies Uzzah with Eleazar who in I Sam.7:1, is consecrated to tend the Ark.¹⁴⁵ All three positions stress the role of a legitimate cultic figure in the procession of the Ark to Jerusalem. David as the one who employs these cultic personnel, is thus portrayed as being aware of the need for the right cultic procedure when dealing with the Ark of Yahweh. It therefore moves from what is probably to be understood as a legitimate cultic site, "The house of Abinadab on the hill",¹⁴⁶ and moves in a legitimate procession to Jerusalem.

The motifs of fear and death which underline Jeroboam's prohibition of the people's pilgrimage to Jerusalem (vs.27), can be contrasted with the motifs of joy and celebration that are used to describe the movement of

the Ark by David and כָּל-בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל into Jerusalem. The dance of David (vs.12) which Ahlström describes as being "intensive, and erotically provocative",¹⁴⁷ emphasizes the festivity that came to be associated with pilgrimages to the central Yahweh shrine. This festivity is reflected in many of the psalms that describe pilgrimages to the temple (cf. Pss. 43:31ff; 122:1). In II Sam.6 David is presented as the epitome of the joy that marked the Ark's procession to Jerusalem, a joy which Michal fails to grasp and so consequently rejects.

- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>(c) <u>Jeroboam</u> and the people
go on pilgrimage to the
bull shrines of Bethel and
Dan i.e. they go <u>away</u>
from Jerusalem
(vss.30b,32,33).</p> | <p><u>David</u> and the people carry
the Ark in procession <u>into</u>
Jerusalem (vss.16-17).</p> |
|---|---|

Jeroboam who forbids pilgrimage to Jerusalem (vs.28) now institutes a rival pilgrimage to Dan and Bethel. Some scholars find in vs.30b reference to an inaugural procession which can be compared with that of the Ark in II Sam.6.¹⁴⁸ That there are some strong affinities between the procession motifs in I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6 can hardly be denied. It seems however that the motifs in the two narratives do not necessarily point to an inaugural procession.¹⁴⁹ In I Kings 12:26ff, the motif is used primarily as a negative element that helps to create Jeroboam into a model of disfavour.

In vs.33 the motif of procession (away from Jerusalem) is combined with that of the 'wrong' date of

הַסֵּכֶת (cf. vs.32a). The phrase,

וַיֵּצֵא עַל-הַמִּזְבֵּחַ אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה בְּבֵית-אֵל בְּחֶמְשָׁה
עָשָׂר יוֹם בַּחֹדֶשׁ עֲשָׂמִינִי

and triumphant note (cf. vss. 17-19). Once more we can draw a sharp contrast between Jeroboam and David : While the same 'odds' of death and rejection lead Jeroboam to reject the Ark and Jerusalem (I Kings 12:26-27), David in spite of them is still able to 'embrace' the Ark and establish Yahweh's legitimate shrine in Jerusalem.

Fourth theme : The legitimacy of priesthood

Jeroboam appoints non-Levitical priests to his shrines, and he functions as a priest at Bethel (vss. 31b, 32-33).

David employs Uzzah and Ahio to tend the Ark, and he also functions as a priest in the Ark procession as well as in Jerusalem (vss. 3, 14, 17-19).

We have already discussed in some detail the problems relating to the legitimacy of priesthood in each narrative.¹⁵² But a comparison of the function of the motif in each narrative can indicate how it is used to create Jeroboam and David into contrasting models of kingship. In I Kings 12:26-33, it is an extension of the אֲזָחָה motif that is introduced in vs. 30a. Jeroboam's appointment of priests to tend his new shrines constitutes a significant stage in his movement away from the Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem cult. The appointment of non-Levitical priests to the shrines of the North seems to be a point of no return for Jeroboam. It is the last important element in Jeroboam's 'construction' of the northern cult before it begins to function with the celebration of לִבְיָהּ (vss. 32-33).

The non-Levitical status of the priests appointed by Jeroboam is given a more precise definition in vs. 32b. Here Jeroboam stands accused of placing at Bethel אֶת-כֹּהֲנָיו הַבְּמֹת אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה. The rejection of the legitimate Yahweh

priesthood is here combined with the adoption of the Canaanite fertility cult to strengthen the creation of Jeroboam into a model of disfavour. Jeroboam's priests are therefore illegitimate on two grounds : one is heredity, the other is their function on the *בֵּית*. That Jeroboam is the one who appoints the priests as well as creates the *בֵּית* (vs.31), makes him doubly responsible for the heretical status of the priesthood of Bethel.

When we turn to II Sam.6, we find that the theme of legitimacy of priesthood, in spite of a level of ambiguity, functions to create David into a model of favour. The ambiguity surrounds the priestly status of Uzzah and Ahio. In our discussion of the problem above, we adopted the position that the narrator of II Sam.6 seems to treat Uzzah and Ahio as the representatives of a legitimate priesthood.¹⁵³ Given the importance and status attached to the Ark in the chapter, one can hardly conclude otherwise. David is not made responsible for the cultic status of Uzzah and Ahio in the way that Jeroboam is made responsible for the status of the priests of the North. The two simply enter the narrative at vs.3, with no indication that they are to be numbered among the *כָּל-בְּחֹרֵי בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל* nor among the *כָּל-הָעָם* of vs.2. They should probably be understood as receiving their cultic status from the ceremony reported in I Sam.7:1.¹⁵⁴

The functions given to Uzzah and Ahio are partly assumed by David in vss.19-20. His assumption of priestly office is described in vs.14b where he is girded (*וַיִּגְדֵּל*) in a linen ephod (*בְּעֹפֹד לִנְיָן*). The linen ephod appears in the Old Testament as a symbol of priestly office (cf. I Sam.2:18; 22:18; Ex.28:4ff).¹⁵⁵ David is the only person outside of

the traditional priestly groups who is reported to have worn one. This confers a cultic status upon David which is undoubtedly related to the priest-king concept.¹⁵⁶ That the occasion is the movement of the Ark to Jerusalem brings into focus the relationship between the Ark, the ephod, and the priest-king concept as it applies to the Davidic dynasty.¹⁵⁷

David's wearing of the ephod confers upon him a legitimate priestly status. His sacrifices during the Ark procession (vs.13), his dance (vs.14) and his role as chief cultic functionary presiding over the installation of the Ark in Jerusalem (vss.16-19), therefore constitute legitimate cultic acts. The wearing of the ephod can also be interpreted as linking David with the ancient priestly and cultic traditions in Israel. In this respect we can contrast him with Jeroboam, who according to the narrator of I Kings 12: 26-33, creates a new line of priesthood, his own function as priest being a part of the new order. His illegitimate claim to priestly functions only serves to consolidate his image as a model of disfavour as those of David enhance David's image as a model of favour.

Fifth theme : Sacrifice

Jeroboam sacrifices in Bethel to the calves (וַיִּזְבֹּחַ) he made (vs.32b).

David offers burnt offerings (וַיִּזְבֹּחַ) and peace offerings (וַיִּשְׁלַח) in Jerusalem before Yahweh (לַיהוָה) vs.17).

The motif of sacrifice is dominant in I Kings 12: 26-33 and in II Sam.6. In the Jeroboam material it enters at vs.27 where it is presented as both the goal and the climax of the people's pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It is part of their

response to Yahweh. That it takes place in Jerusalem
 בְּבֵית-יְהוָה , i.e. in the presence of the Ark, makes it the
 right and legitimate response. Over against the offering
 of sacrifice in the temple in Jerusalem, stands the offering
 of Jeroboam at Bethel. The nature of his sacrifice is
 captured in the phrase לִזְבֹּחַ לְעֹלִים אֲשֶׁר-בְּבֵית . The
 use of the inseparable preposition בְּ in conjunction with
 עֹלִים instead of לְבֵנִי may indicate the heightening of
 the polemic against Jeroboam. לְבֵנִי as a form of בְּנֵי is
 used throughout the Old Testament to denote Yahweh's presence.¹⁵⁸
 It can also be used with specific reference to the Ark
 (cf. II Sam. 6:5,14,17).¹⁵⁹ To have used לְבֵנִי with עֹלִים
 would have amounted to crediting to the bull symbols of Bethel
 a בְּנֵי that is reserved for the Ark in Jerusalem.

The use of the term אֲשֶׁר-בְּבֵית to describe the
 calves of Jeroboam reminds the reader of their lack of cultic
 legitimacy. Jeroboam's object of adoration is one which he
 himself has made. We can compare Is. 44:9-20 where the
 prophet's polemic against images is heavily based on the pre-
 mise that because they are made by those who worship them,
 this worship constitutes an act of folly (cf. vss. 18-20). That
 Jeroboam's act of worship is sacrifice, an all important
 element in the legitimate Yahweh cult, only serves to
 strengthen his image as a model of disfavour.

In II Sam. 6 sacrifice is part of the liturgy of
 the Ark's procession and its installation in Jerusalem. David
 like Jeroboam performs this act as leader of the cult.¹⁶⁰
 Unlike that of Jeroboam, David's sacrifice takes place in the
 presence of the Ark and so in the presence of Yahweh. It may
 be of some significance that only the sacrifice that takes

place in Jerusalem is said to take place before the Lord (vs.17). Is it possible that we have here an indirect claim that sacrifices are to be made only in Jerusalem? If so, David's actions acquire archetypal significance. He becomes the one who sets a cultic pattern which the nation should adopt. Through his acts of sacrifice Yahweh's presence in Jerusalem, and consequently his salvation is affirmed.

In contrast to the sacrifices of David which affirm the cultic significance of Jerusalem, those of Jeroboam constitute a blatant rejection of Jerusalem. The sacrifice at Bethel represent a threat to the very peace and harmony, indeed the salvation which the sacrifices at Jerusalem can secure for the nation. The rejection of the Jerusalem cult is therefore nothing short of the rejection of the peace and harmony it creates between Yahweh and his people (cf. I Kings 12:26-30).

Both I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6 support the view that peace and salvation are inextricably bound up with worship at Yahweh's legitimate shrine in Jerusalem. As the one who embraces this salvation through the right (legitimate) cultic response, David becomes the model of favour. Jeroboam who rejects it through his rejection of the Jerusalem cult, stands as the model of disfavour.

Given all the we have said above, the thematic interaction of I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6 as this relates to the 'Accusations' and 'Affirmations' of the two blocks of material and to the creation of the two prototypes of the models of disfavour and favour can be set out as follows: (see overleaf).

Model of DisfavourModel of FavourAccusationsAffirmationsA. Israel's Legitimate dynasty

Jeroboam who is an usurper ruling over a legitimate part of the Davidic kingdom, prevents his people from returning to the house of David (I Kings 12:26-27).

The Davidic dynasty is the legitimate ruler of all Israel (II Sam. 6:20-23).

First Theme

Dynastic claims

Jeroboam fears rejection by his subjects and identifies Rehoboam as Lord of his kingdom (I Kings 12:26-27).

David is rejected by Michal, but declares his election by Yahweh to be prince over all Israel in place of Saul (I Sam. 6:21).

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

The bull images made by Jeroboam and declared (gods) of the Exodus, are illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence (I Kings 12:28-30).

The Ark is the (only) legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (II Sam. 6:6-12b).

Second Theme

The symbols of Yahweh's power and presence

Jeroboam installs golden calves at Dan and Bethel as symbols of Yahweh's power and presence (I Kings 12:28-29).

David installs the Ark in Jerusalem as the symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (II Sam. 6:17).

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

The northern shrines of Dan and Bethel are illegitimate shrines with illegitimate:

- (i) processions
- (ii) priesthood
- (iii) hag hassukkot
- (iv) sacrifice
(I Kings 12:30-32).

Jerusalem where the Ark is housed is a legitimate shrine with legitimate:

- processions
- priesthood
- sacrifice
(II Sam. 6:2-19).

Third Theme

Pilgrimage/procession to Jerusalem

- | | |
|--|--|
| (a) <u>Jeroboam</u> expresses fear about his subjects going up to worship at Jerusalem (I Kings 12:26-27) | <u>David</u> and the people go to bring up the Ark to Jerusalem (II Sam.6:2). |
| (b) <u>Jeroboam</u> forbids pilgrimage to Jerusalem (I Kings 12:28) | <u>David</u> initiates a grand procession to Jerusalem (II Sam.6:2,12) |
| (c) <u>Jeroboam</u> and the people go on pilgrimage to the bull shrines of Dan and Bethel, i.e., away from Jerusalem (I Kings 12:30b, 32, 33). | <u>David</u> and the people carry the Ark in procession <u>into</u> Jerusalem (II Sam.6:16-17) |

Fourth Theme

The legitimacy of priesthood

- | | |
|---|--|
| <u>Jeroboam</u> appoints non-Levitical priests to his shrines and he also functions as a priest at Bethel (I Kings 12:31b, 32-33) | <u>David</u> employs Uzzah and Ahio to tend the Ark, and he also functions as a priest in the Ark procession, and in Jerusalem (II Sam.6:3, 14, 17-19) |
|---|--|

Fifth Theme

Sacrifice

- | | |
|---|--|
| <u>Jeroboam</u> sacrifices in Bethel to the calves he made (I Kings 12:32b) | <u>David</u> offers burnt offerings and peace offerings in Jerusalem before Yahweh (the Ark) (II Sam.6:17b). |
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5. Kingship: An explanation and the interpretation of the contrasting experiences of history

Within this stage of the development of the models, special attention is paid to the two national cults as they function in the narratives to create the two contrasting models of kingship. But the establishment of the national shrines at Dan, Bethel and Jerusalem, can be understood in the context of the Deuteronomic history, as sowing the seeds which determine the course of the nation's history. King and cult emerge from this stage, as the two crucial factors which determine the national experience.

This is very pronounced in the Jeroboam material. His rejection of Jerusalem and its shrine and the establishment of his own national shrines at Dan and Bethel, opens the way to disaster. A religion is established which according to the narrator, cannot convey Yahweh's power or his presence to the people of the North. The cult of the North is therefore not a channel linking Yahweh to the people of the North, but a disruptive force which severs the link between Yahweh and people.

Jeroboam therefore stands accused of excluding from his nation that cultic force which is thought to produce positive and good national experiences. The cultic force emanating from his newly established shrines, is understood to be a corrosive force which can only lead to disaster and destruction. This is to be clearly understood by the claim that his cultic actions led to sin (I Kings 12:29).

The stage is therefore set for a turbulent future. The cultic seeds sown by Jeroboam can only bear bitter experiences for his nation. The actions of Jeroboam as described in I Kings

12:26-33, must be held alongside the events of II Kings 17. These two passages are linked in a sin-judgement relationship. It is within the two points of time as represented by the passages, that the seeds sown by Jeroboam grown and reach maturity. Jeroboam, and all the kings and people of the North are part of the process.

David's installation of the Ark in Jerusalem, functions in the creation of the models as one of the crucial factors which shapes David into a model of favour. But the function of the act extends even beyond this. The installation of the Ark can also be interpreted as laying the foundation for a positive secure future. The festivity which are cited as part of the Ark procession to Jerusalem seems to suggest this, as well as the reference to Yahweh's replacement of (the house of) Saul with (the house of) David (II Sam.6:21). The king who rejected the command of Yahweh gives way to one who symbolically implants the way of Yahweh among the people.

Yahweh's presence as represented by the Ark, is thus merged into the life of the nation. Or to put it another way, Yahweh's presence becomes the controlling factor of the national experience. If indeed we are to understand that the blessings which the Ark brought to the house of Obed-edom are now transferred to Jerusalem, then the Ark sets in motion a process which ensures a good and positive future. This can be contrasted with the negative force which the bull shrines of the North is believed to set in motion.

David's actions creates the channel through which Yahweh becomes a vibrant part of the national experience. His presence in Jerusalem as symbolized by the Ark, constitutes a binding link

between the nation and its God. A special relationship is thus instituted between Yahweh and the nation even as David institutes one between Jerusalem (the nation) and the Ark. The belief in the capability of Jerusalem to withstand any onslaught as reflected in the doctrine of the inviolability of Zion, became one of the supreme expressions of the belief that an unbreakable bond existed between Yahweh and Jerusalem.

The introduction of the significance of cult into the two models, helps to accentuate their differences. But what is probably more important for us, the link that is created between the nature of the respective national cults and the experiences of the nation, transforms the national shrines into sure indicators of the nature of the future. For just as Jeroboam's sin suggest the march to disaster, David's rescue of the Ark and its installation in Jerusalem marks the end of the disastrous era, and indeed the dynasty of Saul and the start of a new era. This is one of the many points being made by the David-Michal episode (II Sam. 6:20-23).

The theme emphasizing the crucial link between cult, dynasty and the national experience is taken to a new level in the next stage of the development of the royal models. Jeroboam's illegitimate priestly functions at his illegitimate shrine stands in contrast to David's submission to the plans of Yahweh for Israel's legitimate shrine at Jerusalem. It is out of these contrasting positions that we are given clues about the survival of the nation. The interpretation of the king's cultic acts therefore become at the same time, an interpretation of the national experience. It is to a discussion of these cultic acts and their interpretations that we shall now turn.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. Montgomery, Kings, p. 259.
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.*
4. Noth, M. Könige, p. 268 ff.
5. Rehm, M. Das Erste Buch der Könige, Echter Verlag, (1979)
pp. 131ff.
6. Würthwein, E. I Könige 1-16, pp. 161ff.
Gray, I & II Kings, pp. 311ff.
8. Noth seems to adopt a different approach in his
Deuteronomistic History, p. 69, where he treats
vss. 26-31 as a unit, and attaches vss.32-33 to the
prophetic story in ch.13.
9. Burney, Kings, pp.176ff.
cf. Driver, S. R. Introduction, p. 194.
10. Skinner, J. I & II Kings, The Century Bible (Edinburgh, 1904)
p. 112.
cf. also, Nelson, Double Redaction, p. 112.
11. cf. also, I Sam. 15; II Sam.12; I Kings 21; II Kings 17;
21-25.
12. cf. Carlson, David, p. 62.
Campbell, A. F. The Ark Narrative (I Sam. 4-6, II Sam.6).
A Form-Critical and Traditio-Historical Study, SBL
Dissertation Series, Missoula, 1975, p. 126.
Porter, J. R. "The Interpretation of II Sam. vi and Psalm
132" JTS NS 5 (1954) 161-173.
13. cf. Rost, L. The Succession to the Throne of David,
Trans. M. Rutter and D. Gunn (Sheffield, 1982), pp.86ff.
Hertzberg, *op. cit.* p. 277.
14. Rost, Succession, p. 13.

15. For a discussion of this theory,
cf. Rost, Succession, pp. 6-34; Campbell, The Ark Narrative,
16. cf. Campbell, The Ark Narrative.
17. cf. Carlson, David, pp.58ff; Smith, Samuel, p. 291.
18. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 313.
19. cf. Ellis, P. "I & II Kings", Jerome Biblical Commentary
(New Jersey, 1968) p. 191.
also, Noth, Laws in the Pentateuch, and Other Essays
Trans. D. AP. Thomas (Edinburgh, 1966) p. 135.
20. On the textual problems relating to this particular phrase,
cf. Montgomery, Kings, p. 258.
21. Ringgren, Israelite Reigion, Trans. David Green
(London 1966), p. 122.
22. *ibid.*
23. For a discussion of the function of the sub motif in the
Deuteronomic History,
cf. Wolff, 'The Kerygma of the Deuteronomic Historica-
Work,' in Vitality of the Old Testament Traditions
(Atlanta, 1975) pp. 83ff.
24. This interpretation of ׀׀׀׀ holds true whether or not
we treat it as a derivative of ׀׀ 'to rule,' or ׀׀׀׀
'a base, foundation, etc.'
cf. Davidson, B. The Analytical Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon,
(London), pp.8, 147-148.
25. cf. Kaufmann, Y. The Religion of Israel from its Beginnings
to the Babylonian Exile, Trans. M. Greenberg
(London 1961) p. 271.
Dumermuth, F. 'Zur deuteronomischen Kulttheologie,'
ZAW 70 (1958), 59-98.
26. cf. below, pp. 69ff.
27. This point is often overlooked especially by those who
are inclined to stress the anti-Canaanite nature of the
Samuel-Kings material.
cf. Obbink, H.T. 'Jahwebilder', ZAW 47 (1929), 264-274.
Kraus, H.J. Worship in Israel (Oxford, 1966) p.150.

28. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 39.
29. *ibid.*
30. von Rad, Old Testament Theology Vol.1, Trans. D. Stalker (Edinburgh 1962) p. 212.
31. cf. Pfeiffer, R. H. 'The polemic Against Images in the Old Testament' JBL 43 (1924) 229-240.
32. cf. Rowley, H. H. 'Zadok and Nehushtan' JBL 58 (1939) pp. 113-141.
33. cf. Eissfeldt, O. 'Lade und Stierbild' ZAW 57 (1940/41), 190-215.
34. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, pp.70ff.
35. cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, p. 316.
36. cf. the theory that the name ד'ִּבְּלִיָּה reflects the Canaanite and Babylonian concepts of the assembly of the gods.

Ahlström, G. W. Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion (Lund:1963) pp.50ff.
37. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, pp. 214ff.
38. cf. Slotki, I. W. Kings, Soncino Books of the Bible, (London: 1950), pp.95-96.
39. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 50.
40. cf. Wharton, J. A. 'Pilgrimage', IDB Vol.3, (Nashville, 1962) pp.814-815.
41. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 24.
42. Although Jerusalem is not named in Deuteronomy as "the place Yahweh will choose," several scholars regard this phrase as a reference to Jerusalem. For a discussion of the problems relating to this opinion,

cf. Halpern, B. 'The centralization formula in Deuteronomy' VT 31 (1981), 20-38.

Nicholson, E. Deuteronomy and Tradition, (Oxford, 1967) pp.53-57.

Dus, J. 'Ein Versuch zur Deuteronomischen Kultformel' Volume du Congrès Genève 1965 SVT 15 (1966), 113-121.

43. cf. Lipinski, E. La royauté de Yahvé dans la poésie et le culte l'ancien Israël,
(Brussels, 1965) p. 432.
44. cf. below, pp. 83ff.
45. cf. Most commentators would treat vs. 30b as a 'later' addition to the narrative. This factor does not however reduce its effect in creating Jeroboam into a model of disfavour in keeping with the rest of the material in I Kings 12:26-33.

cf. Debus, Die Sünde Jerobeams. Studien zur Darstellung Jerobeams und der Geschichte des Nordreichs in der Deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung
(Göttingen, 1967) pp.35ff.
46. cf. Burney, Kings, p. 117.
47. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 317.
48. ibid.

cf. also, Burney's translation, "for the people used to go.." Kings, p. 177.
49. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 210;
Kraus, Worship, p. 94.
50. cf. Eichrodt, W. Theology of the Old Testament Vol.II,
(London: 1961) p. 394.
51. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 210.
52. On the relationship between the tribe of Levi and the Levites,

cf. Nielsen, E. 'The Levites in Ancient Israel,' Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute, III (1964), pp. 16-27.

Gunneweg, A.H.J. Leviten und Priester, FRLANT 89
(Göttingen, 1965).
53. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament Vol.II,
pp. 394-395.
54. Wellhausen, J. Prolegomena to the History of Israel,
(Edinburgh, 1885) pp.151-161.

55. De Vaux, Ancient Israel, Its Life and Institutions
Trans. J. McHugh (London, 1961) pp.316-366.
cf. also, Mohlenbrink, K. 'Die Levitischen Überlieferung
des Alten Testaments' ZAW 11 (1934) 184-231.
Cody, A. A History of Old Testament Priesthood, (Rome, 1969).
56. cf. Pedersen, Israel Its Life and Culture III-IV
(Copenhagen, 1926), p. 174.
57. cf. Eichrodt, W. Ezekiel OTL (London, 1970), pp.565-566.
58. cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, p. 504.
59. Aberbach and Smolar, JBL 86 (1969), p. 131.
60. cf. Talmon's comment that the "emphatic statement of
the Judaeen author that the priests at Dan and
Bethel were 'not of the sons of Levi'...must be
taken with a grain of salt..."
'Divergence in Calendar Reckoning in Ephraim and
Judah' VT Vol. 8 (1958), 48-75. The comment occurs
on p. 53.
61. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p. 255.
62. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 289.
63. Montgomery, Kings, p. 292.
64. Burney, Kings, p. 178;
, also, Noth, Könige, p. 268.
65. Aberbach and Smolar, JBL 86 (1969) p. 131.
66. Ehrlich, A. Randglossen zur Hebraischen Bibel,
Leipzig, (1908-1914) p. 247.
67. Aberbach and Smolar, JBL 86 (1969), p. 131.
68. Talmon, VT 8 (1958), p. 51.
69. Comments to the contrary abound in discussions on this
problem,
cf. Noth, "Jeroboam...considered it desirable that the
Levites with their powerful vested interest be
discarded in favour of a new class of loyal servants
to the crown."
'Background to Jud.17-18,' Israel's Prophetic Heritage,
pp.81ff.

70. cf. Davidson, Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon, p. 663.
cf. also, Brown F., S. Driver and C. Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament, (Oxford 1952), p.892.
71. cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, Essays in the History and Religion of Israel,
(Massachusetts, 1973) pp.195ff.
Meek; Hebrew Origins, (Oxford 1950) p. 119.
72. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 317.
73. cf. Kraus, Worship, pp.61.
74. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 190.
75. cf. Kraus, Worship, p. 62.
76. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 318.
77. *ibid.*
78. Morgenstern, J. 'The Festival of Jeroboam I' JBL 83
(1964), Part II, pp. 108-118.
79. Lewy, J. HUCA 17 (1942-43) 1-152 as quoted in Morgenstern
JBL 83 (1964) p. 111.
80. cf. Morgenstern, JBL 83 (1964) p. 111.
81. Morgenstern, JBL 83 (1964) p. 114.
82. *ibid.*
83. cf. Segal, J. B. The Hebrew Passover, (London, 1963),
p.258.
84. cf. Montgomery's rendering of this phrase by (the month)
"he devised all by himself." This translation
strengthens the polemical character of vs.33
Kings, p.263.
85. cf. above, pp. 72-73.
86. Talmon, VT 8 (1958), p. 57.
87. Dalman, G. Arbeit und Sitte in Palestina, (Gütersloh,
1928-42) Vol.2, pp.41, 121.
88. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 318.
89. *ibid.*

90. The theory of the New Year festival owes much to the work of Voltz who attempted to establish the existence of a New Year festival in Israel similar to that of Ancient Babylon.

Volz, P. Das Neujahrsfest Jahwes (Laubhüttenfest), Sammlung gemeinverständlicher vortrage und schriften aus dem Gebiet der Theologie Und Religionsgeschichte 67 (Tübingen 1912).

cf. also, Mowinckel, The Psalms in Israelite Worship Trans. D. R. AP. Thomas (Oxford 1962) pp.106ff;

Kraus, Worship, pp.15ff.

91. cf. Mowinckel, The Psalms, pp.118.

92. cf. Kraus, Worship, pp.205ff.

93. cf. above, pp. 69-70.

94. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 208.

95. cf. Kraus, Worship, p. 100.

96. cf. von Rad, Old Testament Theology Vol.I, p. 262.

97. Smith, S. "The Practice of Kingship in Early Semitic Kingdoms," in Myth Ritual and Kingship: Essays on the Theory and Practice of Kingship in the Ancient Near East, Ed. S. Hooke (Oxford 1958) p.31.

98. McKenzie, Dictionary, p. 478;

cf. also II Sam. 18 where David's sons are listed as priests.

99. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 225.

100. cf. Kraus, Worship, pp.222ff.

101. cf. Carlson, David, pp.58ff.

102. cf. The view of Murtonen that לָבַר of vs.20 should be rendered 'to greet.' Carlson has correctly claimed that this translation is "too weak" given the context of the whole chapter.

Murtonen, A. "The use and Meaning of the Words לָבַר and בָּרַךְ in the Old Testament," VT 9 (1959), 158-177.

Carlson, David, p. 92.

103. Pedersen, Israel III-IV pp.216ff, 230.
104. Mowinckel renders יְהוָה מֶלֶךְ as 'Yahweh has become king.' Several other scholars have however offered alternatives to this. Michel prefers, 'Hayweh is king,' whereas Kapelrud translates the phrase 'Yahweh has become king and is now active as king.'
- Michel, D. 'Studien zu den sogenannten Thronbestergungspsalen' VT 6 (1956) 40-68.
- Kalperud, A. S. "Nochmals Jahwa malak" VT 13 (1963), 229-231.
- Mowinckel, The Psalms, pp.107ff.
105. Gray, J. The Legacy of Canaan VTS v (1957), pp.126ff, 137.
106. Kraeling, E.G. 'The real religion of Ancient Israel,' JBL 47 (1928) p.156, n.81.
- He finds a close relationship between יְהוָה and the Assyrian word 'Sanctuary.' On the basis of this he interprets 'יְהוָה Uzzah' as "The shrine of the potent object."
107. cf. Carlson, David, pp.81ff;
Porter, JTS 5 (1954), p. 171.
108. Mowinckel, The Psalms, p.44.
109. cf. Carlson, David, p. 84.
110. Koehler, L. and Baumgartner, W. Lexicon un Veteris Testament Libros, (Leuten 1953), p.780.
111. *ibid.*
112. Smith, Samuel, p.293.
113. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p.279.
114. cf. von Rad, Old Testament Theology Vol.I, p. 237.
Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament Vol.II, p.270.
115. Carlson, David, p. 85.
116. cf. Fretheim, T. 'Ps.132, a Form-critical Study,' JBL 86 (1967), 289-300.

117. cf. Kraus, Worship, p.182;
Noth, Laws in the Pentateuch, pp.132ff.
118. Campbell, The Ark Narrative, p.141.
119. Kraus, Worship, p.182.
120. *ibid.*
121. cf. the opposite view of Carlson, David, p.88.
122. On the relationship between the two traditions,
Cf. von Rad, 'The Tent and the Ark,' In The Problem of the Hexateuch, Trans. T. Dicken (Edinburgh, 1966) p.106ff
123. cf. Carlson, David, p.94.
124. cf. Nielsen, E. The Ten Commandments in New Perspective
(ET) SBT Second Series, No.7 (London, 1968), p.120.
125. cf. above, pp. 83ff.
126. cf. De. Vaux, Ancient Israel, pp.297ff.
127. cf. Kraus, Worship, pp.128ff;
von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, p. 40.
128. cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, p.198.
129. cf. Rowley, JBL 58 (1939), p.113ff.
130. cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, pp.74ff.
131. *ibid.*
132. cf. above, pp. 64ff.
133. For an explanation of the possible origin of this tension,
cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, pp.198ff.
134. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.315.
135. cf. Obbink, ZAW 47 (1929) pp.264ff;
Eissfeldt, ZAW 57 (1940/41) pp.190, 205, 208ff.
136. cf. von Rad, The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays,
p.110.
137. cf. Carlson, David, pp.64-65.
138. cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic, pp.198ff.

139. cf. Eichrodt, W. Ezekiel, p.564.
140. Burney draws a comparison between the two phrases, but does not mention this particular point of contact between the two. Kings, p.117.
141. cf. above pp. 68ff.
142. cf. Smith, Samuel, p. 292;
Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 278;
Carlson, David, p. 63;
143. Wellhausen, J. Der Text der Bücher Samuelis,
(Göttingen, 1871), p.167.
144. Budde, K. "Der Herkunft Sadoke" ZAW 52 (1934), 42-50.
145. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 278.
146. cf. Porter, JTS 5 (1954) pp.161ff.
147. Ahlström, Aspects of Syncretism, p.34.
148. This is the view of Benzinger and Sanda, quoted by Montgomery, Kings, p.255.
149. cf. Noth, Könige, p. 285.
150. cf. the interpretation of נָחַץ above, pp. 69-70.
151. On the significance of Michal's position,
cf. Carlson, David, pp. 94ff.
152. cf. above, pp. 71ff.
153. cf. above, p. 97.
154. But cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 278, who highlights some of the problems involved in the linking of the events of I Sam.7:1 to those of II Sam.6:2.
155. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, pp.205-206.
156. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p.226.
157. *ibid.*
158. cf. Johnson, A.R. "The use of panim in the Old Testament,"
Fest. Otto Eissfeldt, (Halle, 1947), pp.155ff.
159. cf. above, p. 69.
160. On the role of the kings as the leader of the cult in the Old Testament,
cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, pp.233ff.

CHAPTER 3

Stage III: The Nature of the National Cults and the Future of
Dynasty and Nation (I Kings 13: II Sam.7).

1. The survival of the nation, national cult, and dynasty

The theme of survival is very much at work in this stage of the development of the models. There is now emerging, an understanding of a strong relationship between the survival of the cults established by Jeroboam and David, the survival of their dynasties, and the survival of their kingdoms. Although the theme of national survival is not explicitly expressed as in the fourth stage, the strong theme of survival built around the survival of cult and dynasty carries some implications for the survival of the nation.

As in the second stage, the issue of the future of dynasty and nation is explored through our three major themes of, Israel's legitimate dynasty, the legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence, and , the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult. Through these themes the models are made to address the question of survival. Kingship becomes the most crucial factor which determines the survival or the destruction of the nation.

The prophet re-enters the model at this stage. In both the Jeroboam and Davidic material, the prophet plays a crucial role in shaping the models in relation to the theme of survival. He interprets the nation's future in terms of the present cult and dynasty.

The king-prophet relationship begins to emerge as a very important factor in the shaping of the models. It also becomes the context within which the question of survival is

given definite answers. The prophetic word is the vehicle used by the narrator to convey the themes of destruction and survival. It is the matrix out of which the information about the survival of dynasty, cult and nation is conveyed to the reader.

2. The Delimitation of the units

(a) I Kings 13

I Kings 13 seems to be a self-contained unit. Some scholars have however identified smaller units within the chapter. Noth defends the unity of vss. 7-32, whereas Eissfeldt treats vss. 1-32 as a self-contained unit.² Some questions have also been raised about how far vss. 33-34 are to be treated as an integral part of the story of ch. 13.

It seems however that the various sections of ch. 13 are linked together to form a fairly cohesive narrative. The narrative moves logically from the threat of the Man of God against Bethel and Jeroboam's immediate reaction (vss. 1-10), through the episode of the Man of God's authentication as a prophet (vss. 11-32), to the final comment of vss. 33-34.

It is primarily on the basis of this progression from the pronouncement of the word of the Man of God, to the final comment that neither the word of the Man of God nor his death was able to produce a reforming effect upon Jeroboam, that the extent of the story of ch. 13 is determined. 13:1-34 will be the extent of the Jeroboam material analysed in this stage of the development of the models.

(b) II Sam. 7

Although II Sam. 7 can be divided into a number of

units,³ they are held firmly together by the temple theme and that relating to the survival of the Davidic dynasty. The unity of the chapter has been defended by several scholars.⁴ As it now stands, the chapter seems to flow smoothly. Traditions about the Ark, the temple and the Davidic dynasty are closely interwoven with each other.

We will be treating the chapter as a unit. Those who had the final word on the shape of the chapter, were probably guided by the crucial question of why David did not build the temple. This question constitutes the glue which holds the material and the themes of the chapter together. The reference to David dwelling in his house in peace at the beginning of the chapter (vs.1) and the conclusion that his house (dynasty) will be blessed forever (vs.29) constitute well defined delimits of the material in the chapter.

3. The threats and reaffirmations of I Kings and II Sam.7 (Respectively).

In our analysis of I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6, we argued that these two blocks of material are based on three common presuppositions about the Davidic dynasty, the Ark, and Jerusalem. But whereas in I Kings 12:26-33 they take the form of a number of accusations, they are presented as affirmations in II Sam.6.⁵

A similar antithetical relationship exist between the material in I Kings 13 and that of II Sam.7. In I Kings 13 we encounter a series of threats, whereas we find what in relation to II Sam.6 can be termed a series of reaffirmations. The negative elements of I Kings 12:26-33 are now transfered into threats against the house of Jeroboam and the cult of Bethel.

In classic prophetic style, the sin (accusation) of 12:26-33 leads to the judgement (threat) of ch.13.⁶ This structure is mediated through the presence of Yahweh's prophet. The prophet functions to identify clearly the sin, and pronounce the judgement which it incurs.

A prophetic figure also plays a prominent role in II Sam.7. But the role differs somewhat from that in I Kings 13. In contrast to the Man of God in I Kings 13 who pronounces judgement upon Jeroboam and his cult, emphasising rejection by Yahweh, Nathan in II Sam.7 announces a divine promise which reaffirms the closeness of Yahweh to David. The foundation of this promise was laid in II Sam.6, where the ark functions to affirm the strength of the Yahweh-David relationship. In II Sam.7 this relationship is reaffirmed by having Yahweh enter into a covental relationship with David and his dynasty.

I Kings 13 and II Sam.7 can therefore viewed as strengthening the two contrasting models of kingship. The former creating a link between the model of disfavour and the inevitability of destruction (I Kings 13:2ff, 33-34), the latter identifying survival (for ever) as one of the rewards bestowed by Yahweh upon the model of favour. But in spite of this contrast which is constructed on the antithetical 'threat' 'reaffirmation' nature of the two blocks of material, they are still linked to each other through the three basic themes of: Israel's legitimate dynasty, the legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence, and the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult. In other words, the same basic presuppositions behind I Kings 12:26-33 and II Sam.6 are behind I Kings 13 and II Sam.7. The relationship between the four units can therefore be set out as follows:

(see overleaf).

<u>Presuppos- itions</u>	<u>Accusation</u> (I Kgs. 12:26-33)	<u>Threat</u> (ch. 13)	<u>Affirmation</u> (II Sam. 6)	<u>Reaffirmation</u> (ch. 7)
<u>A. Israel's legitimate dynasty</u>				
The Davidic dynasty is the legitimate ruler of all Israel.	Jeroboam who is an usurper ruling over a legitimate part of the Davidic kingdom prevents the people from returning to the house of David. (vss. 26-27)	The house of Jeroboam will be cut off and destroyed from the face of the earth. (vs. 34).	David who was elected king to replace the rejected Saul is the legitimate ruler of all Israel. (vss. 20-23)	The house of David will be established forever. (vss. 16, 29).
<u>B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence</u>				
There can be no images of Yahweh, only the Ark, to represent his power and presence.	The bull images made by Jeroboam and declared the god(s) of the Exodus are illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence. (vss. 28-30)	The altar at Bethel (with its bull symbol) will be desecrated and Yahweh's power and torn down. (vss. 1-3).	The Ark is the (only) legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence. (vss. 6-12b).	The Ark is the Ancient legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence. (vss. 1-7).
<u>C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult</u>				
There can be no legitimate Yahweh cult outside of Jerusalem.	The northern shrines of Dan and Bethel with their bull images constitute an illegitimate cult..... (vss. 30-33).	The non-Levitical priesthood of Bethel will be destroyed, sacrificed upon their own altar by a legitimate (Davidic) priest-king. (13:2a)	Jerusalem where the Ark is housed is the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult..... (vss. 16-19).	The cult of Jerusalem will be strengthened by the building of a temple to Yahweh. (vss. 12-13).

(a) I Kings 13

The threats against Jeroboam and the northern cult should be viewed against the "Accusations" contained in 12:26-33. We can maintain the close relationship between the two by first stating the "Accusation" and then the threat that is directly related to it.

A. Israel's legitimate dynastyAccusation

Jeroboam, who is an usurper ruling over a legitimate part of the Davidic kingdom, prevents the people from returning to the house of David. (12:26-27).

Threat

The house of Jeroboam will be cut off and destroyed from the face of the earth (13:34).

Just as the dynastic claims of Jeroboam over the northern kingdom are brought into question in the context of the people's response to the legitimate Yahweh cult in Jerusalem (12:26-27), so the threat against the house of Jeroboam is closely linked to his establishment of a rival illegitimate cult (13:33-34). Cult and dynasty remain intricately bound up with each other.

Vs. 34 should be interpreted in relationship to vs. 33, through which it is linked to the preceding prophetic story. Vs. 33 picks up the שׁוּב motif of 12:26-27.⁷ The possibility of the people returning to בֵּית-יְהוָה and בֵּית-דָּוִד as expressed in 12:26-27 can be contrasted with the two statements about Jeroboam in vs. 33, both of which employ the verb שׁוּב:

(a) אַחֲרֵי הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה ⁸ לֹא-שָׁב יִרְבָּעָם מִדֶּרֶכּוֹ הַרְעָה

(b) וַיָּשָׁב וַיַּעַשׂ מַקְצֹת הָעָם כְּהִנִּי בָמוֹת ⁹

Here the hopeful possibility of 12:26-27 is squandered by

Jeroboam.

We are inclined to regard the term **מִדְּרָעָה** as referring to all the accusations levelled against Jeroboam in 12:26-33. These are epitomized in the statement about his recruiting policy for priests to tend his shrine at Bethel (vs.33). Hence Jeroboam is presented not only as being reluctant to turn (**לֹא-יָשָׁב**) from evil (**רָעָה**) but also as being willing to extend it (**וַיִּשָּׁב וַיַּעַשׂ**).

It is a specific "extension" of evil, Jeroboam's open policy on the recruitment of priests, that is made directly responsible for the destruction of his dynasty. This becomes **לְחַטָּאת בַּיִת זָרָבָעִם** (vs.34a). The narrator's concern for the legitimacy of priesthood which is reflected in the threat of vs.2 now functions as the basis of a threat against the house of Jeroboam. One cannot overlook the priestly role credited to Jeroboam. Unlike 12:32-33, it is not the functioning as a priest at the altar, but the consecration of priests, for the **בְּמִזְבֵּחַ**. The narrator uses for the act of consecration, the technical term **וַיִּמְלֵא אֶת-יָדָיו** 10 which may be an attempt to emphasize the gravity of Jeroboam's

אֶת-יָדָיו. The term which means literally "he used to fill the hand", is probably derived from the practice of filling the hands of the priest to be consecrated with the best portions of the sacrifice.¹¹ Jeroboam is credited with the use of the accepted ritual formula but the priests he consecrates remain illegitimate. That the consecration was being done by one whose own priest-king status was null and void constituted yet another dimension to the illegitimate status of the northern priesthood.¹²

When we turn to the threat (punishment) that Jeroboam's אָטָא incurs (vs.34), it seems to reflect the full depth of the narrator's abhorrence of the northern cult and dynasty. This is captured in the 'terse' nature of vs.34, especially the second half of the verse. The whole verse reads:

וַיְהִי בַדְבָר הַזֶּה לְחַשָּׂאת בֵּית יִרְבְּעָם וּלְהַכְחִיד
וּלְהַשְׁמִיד מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה

There are several opinions on how this verse should be rendered. Several scholars read הַדָּבָר^{13} instead of בַּדְבָר translating "This thing/matter", instead of "By this thing".¹⁴ Gray's rendering of the verse merits some attention for the way in which it captures the power of the narrator's rejection of the house of Jeroboam:

And this matter¹⁵ vitiated the house¹⁶
of Jeroboam to the extent of effacing
and destroying it from the face of the
earth.....¹⁷

The true power of the narrator's threat is conveyed through the use of the hiphil infinitive constructs וּלְהַכְחִיד and וּלְהַשְׁמִיד .¹⁸ The verb כָּתַד means to 'destroy', 'efface' or 'hide'.¹⁹ It occurs only five times in the hiphil, Ex.23:23; II Chron.32:21; Ps.83:4; Zech.11:8 and I Kings 13:34. It seems to be used in a peculiar manner in I Kings 13:34. Whereas in the other texts, there is a person who performs the act that is designated by the verb ('cut off', 'destroy', 'hide'), i.e. who is the subject of the verb כָּתַד , in I Kings 13:34 Jeroboam's sin (אָטָא) seems to perform this function. It possesses power all of its own and so brings about the destruction of the house of Jeroboam.

Like $\text{לְהַמָּחֵ} , \text{לְהַמָּחֵ} can be rendered 'to destroy'. But an even more powerful translation is, 'to annihilate'.²⁰ Similarly the hiphil can be rendered, 'to bring to nought'.²¹$

$\text{לְהַמָּחֵ} is the word most frequently used in Deuteronomy and Joshua to describe the removal of the $\text{אֲשֵׁרִים} from the land of Canaan.²² This process was necessary primarily because of the incompatibility between the religion of the $\text{אֲשֵׁרִים} and the religion of Yahweh.²³ Undoubtedly, the same idea is at work in I Kings 13:34. The religion of Jeroboam embraced the religion of the $\text{אֲשֵׁרִים} when he appointed the priests of the $\text{בַּמִּזְבֵּחַ} to his sanctuary at Bethel. He is therefore about to meet the same fate as those $\text{אֲשֵׁרִים} whom Yahweh removed in order to implant Israel in the land.$$$$$$

The narrator's use of $\text{וַיִּלְכְּדֵם} and $\text{וַיִּשְׁמֵד} suggests that Jeroboam's $\text{אָמָּר} put into motion, a process that possessed its own dynamics of destruction and dissolution.²⁴ This understanding of sin, or the power of sin, is not unlike that to be found in the Primeval history (Gen.1-11). For there, as in the case of Jeroboam, the entry of sin sets in motion the march to destruction with its climax in the flood (Gen.7:19). Just as the flood marks a move back to 'chaos',²⁵ so the circumstances brought on by the sin of Jeroboam mark a return to the state of the nation as described in I Kings 11:1ff.²⁶ This suggests a movement from sin to sin, and inevitable destruction. It must suffice to note at this stage of our discussion that the threat against Jeroboam highlights one of the important biblical understandings of sin : It invariably brings upon the offender the consequence of his own actions.²⁷$$$

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Accusation

The bull images made by Jeroboam and declared the god(s) of the Exodus are illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence (12:28-30).

Threat

The altar at Bethel will be desecrated and torn down (13:2b,3).

The threat against the altar at Bethel represents one of the high points of the polemic against the northern cult in the Jeroboam material. The contrasting motifs of legitimacy/illegitimacy are very much at work in the threat. That the $\text{אֵלֹהִים שֶׁבֵּתֵל}$ comes to Bethel מִיְהוּדָה can function in the narrative to contrast the place from which he comes with the place to which he goes. He is therefore not only $\text{אֵלֹהִים שֶׁבֵּתֵל}$,²⁸ but is closely identified with the section of Israel that is thought to possess the legitimate Yahweh cult.

The cultic divide between Bethel and Judah (Jerusalem) is further accentuated by having the prophet identify as the one destined to bring upon Bethel the consequences of its illegitimacy, a $\text{בֶּן נֹלֵךְ לְבֵית-דָּוִד}$...

It is no coincidence that it is a $\text{בֶּן לְבֵית-דָּוִד}$ who is to destroy the cult at Bethel. A Davidic heir would be a natural choice for this task given the fact that the Davidic house was thought to be the custodian of the legitimate Yahweh cult.²⁹ The later introduction of the name of Josiah into the material would then be later identification of an older Judaeen (Davidic?) hope with this Davidic king. This identification was probably heavily influenced by Josiah's incorporation of Bethel and other parts of what was

once the northern kingdom into his expanded kingdom. The removal of what was regarded by many in the South as the great threat to the cultic-dynastic claims of the Davidic dynasty, was therefore credited to the model of Davidic kingship.³⁰

A close examination of the threat against the altar at Bethel indicates that it is not simply one of desecration, but of total destruction. The threat can therefore be seen to exist in two parts. There is first, the desecration of vs.2b.³¹ It reads :

וְעִזְמוֹת אָדָם שָׁרְפוּ עָלָיו

This threat should be interpreted against the background of an Old Testament tradition that a dead body is unclean, and that contact with it produces contamination. It is therefore to be avoided. This idea which in the opinion of Ringgren is based on an "extremely ancient taboo regulation",³² finds expression in Num.19:13 :

whoever touches a dead person, the body of any man who has died, and does not cleanse himself, defiles the tabernacle of the Lord and that person shall be cut off from Israel...

(cf. also, 19:13,16; Lev.11:31,32; 21:11)

The avoidance of contact with the dead was one of the regulations governing the office of a priest (Lev.21:11). There was therefore, it would seem, a sharp separation between the sphere of the dead and the sphere of the cult. The regulation of Lev.21:11 reflects the rigidity of the separation :

he (the priest) shall not go into any dead body nor defile himself even for his father or his mother.

This understanding of the relationship between the sphere of the dead and the sphere of the cult, is probably behind the threat in I Kings 13:2b. Hence the burning of מִזְבֵּחַ בֵּתֵל upon the Altar at Bethel constitutes nothing short of its removal from use forever.

The second part of the threat of 13:2b is to be found in the $\text{תִּפְּסֶנּוּ$ of vs.3.³³ This is the catastrophic tearing down ($\text{שִׁבְּרָה$) of the altar and the pouring out (שִׁפְּזָה) of the ashes (vss.3,5). The שִׁבְּרָה motif which played a crucial role in the early part of SJR (cf. I Kings 11:11ff), returns to the Jeroboam material. But whereas in SJR it is used as the basis of threat to Solomon and promise to Jeroboam (11:30), it is now the basis of a threat against Jeroboam's national shrine. If as Gray maintains, שִׁבְּרָה as used in vs.3 "suggests the splitting of masonry possibly by earthquake or by fire",³⁴ then it is here used in a far more dramatic and powerful way than in I Kings 11.

The תִּפְּסֶנּוּ of vs.3 belongs to the motif of 'the destruction of the altar' which is to be found in other parts of the Old Testament. It is invariably used to emphasize the absolute incompatibility of the religion of Yahweh with all other religions, or with the type of (Yahweh) religion represented by the altar. Hence we have the commands of Deut.7:5; 12:3 and Ex.34:13, demanding the destruction of Canaanite altars. The threat of Amos against the altar of Bethel (3:14; 5:5; 9:1 (?)), can also be placed under the motif. This raises the question of the link between I Kings 13 and the Amos material. Although there seems to be a link, there is one significant difference : the threat of Amos occurs in a context of deep concern for social justice,

whereas that of I Kings 13:2ff, occurring against the background of 12:26-33, is primarily concerned with cultic legitimacy.³⁵ Any affinity between the two threats may owe more to the idea of the relationship between the wellbeing of the cult, especially the central national shrine and national survival, than to any literary dependence.³⁶

Behind the motif as reflected in the *תָּמִיד* of 13:3 is the understanding of the central and crucial significance attached to the altar in Israelite and Ancient Near Eastern religion.³⁷ It not only functioned as the place of all important sacrificial rites, but also represented the presence of the deity (cf. Ps. 43:2ff).³⁸ The threat against the Altar at Bethel can therefore be viewed as underlining the illegitimacy of the symbol of Yahweh's presence closely associated with the altar, i.e. the bull symbol installed by Jeroboam in 12:28-29.

By combining the tearing down of the altar with the pouring out of its ashes, the narrator is declaring that the altar will be rendered impotent. The loss of ashes is nothing short of the loss of power. It robs Jeroboam who stands ready to burn incense on the altar (vs.1) of his priest-king function. His gift of incense, like the altar upon which he is about to officiate as priest-king, is totally rejected by Yahweh.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Accusation

The northern shrines of Dan and Bethel with their bull images constitute an illegitimate cult with illegitimatenon-Levitical priests (12:31b, 32b; 13:33).

Threat

The non-Levitical priesthood of Bethel will be destroyed, sacrificed upon their own altar by a legitimate priest-king (13:2a).

Jeroboam's appointment of כֹּהֲנֵי בֵּמֹת to tend his shrine at Bethel, constitutes in the context of Samuel-Kings, an unwarranted and unforgiveable introduction of Canaanite religion into the northern cult. The narrator of I Kings 13 employs a dramatic/ironic reversal to heighten the depravity of this aspect of Jeroboam's cultic policies. The illegitimate priests who once offered illegitimate sacrifices upon the altar at Bethel will themselves be sacrificed thereon by a legitimate priest-king.³⁹ This will be the final sacrifice at Bethel since it will constitute a desecration of the altar.

The introduction of the name of Josiah into 13:2 makes him directly responsible for the fate of the non-Levitical priesthood at Bethel.⁴⁰ At the same time it establishes a link between this king's extension of his hegemony as far north as Bethel, and the threat against the

כֹּהֲנֵי בֵּמֹת of Bethel. This link credits Josiah with the removal of a crucial element from the northern cult, rendering it impotent. But since Bethel no longer functioned as a national sanctuary in the days of Josiah as it did during the existence of the northern kingdom,⁴¹ the comment of 13:2 is probably to be understood as stressing the illegitimacy of the northern priesthood by having it destroyed by an ideal priest-king, Josiah. The hand that introduced the name 'Josiah' in vs.2a was probably attempting to achieve more than a simple prophecy-fulfilment correlation between the tradition of the man of God in I Kings 13 and the events

relating to the Josiah reform in II Kings 23. He was claiming that Bethel was redeemed for Yahweh, even if it is placed in an era when Bethel was no longer of the same cultic status as it is accorded in I Kings 13.

The removal of the priests of Bethel like the removal of the altar deprives the sanctuary of an element without which it cannot function. The crucial role of the priest in the religion of Israel as well as in that of the wider Ancient Near East has been fully discussed.⁴² In some traditions of the Old Testament it seems as if a sanctuary is not considered fully constituted until a priest is installed (cf. Jud. 17-18). In a similar vein, the removal of the priest of a sanctuary renders that sanctuary useless, as Michal's plea seems to suggest in Jud. 18:24. Against this background of the close relationship between the role of the priest and the function of a sanctuary, the threat against the non-Levitical priests of Bethel becomes a threat against their existence as a group as well as a threat against the existence of the shrine of Bethel.

The פְּהֲגֵי בְמֹת of the זָבַח is clearly not to be placed among the other cases of human sacrifice in the Old Testament.⁴³ It is to be understood not as a violation of the prohibition against human sacrifice but rather as the exercising of Yahweh's judgement upon the illegitimate priesthood of Bethel. There is therefore a great difference between the acts of human sacrifice that are listed as one of the reasons for the destruction of the northern kingdom (cf. II Kings 17:21), and the sacrifice of the זָבַח בְּמֹת by בְּנֵי לְבֵית-דָּוִד.

It is possible that there may be an element of the אֲרִי tradition at work here. That the text as it now stands places the destruction of the priests in the context of Josiah's conquest of the old Israelite territory seems to suggest that their fate should be understood as the offering of the spoils of conquests to Yahweh. In the context of the

אֲרִי, the priests that are sacrificed are to be understood as the enemies of Yahweh.⁴⁴ This enmity can be linked not only to their relationship to the בֵּית יְהוָה but also to their official status at the illegitimate bull shrine of Bethel.

(b) II Sam.7

The three basic Affirmations about the Davidic dynasty, the Ark, and the Jerusalem cult present in II Sam.6, reappear as Reaffirmations in II Sam.7; but in a stronger form. Our approach in this section is similar to that of the previous section. We will maintain the close link between the Affirmations and the Reaffirmations by stating them before each unit.

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Affirmation

David who was elected king to replace the rejected Saul is the legitimate ruler of all Israel. (6:20-23).

Reaffirmation

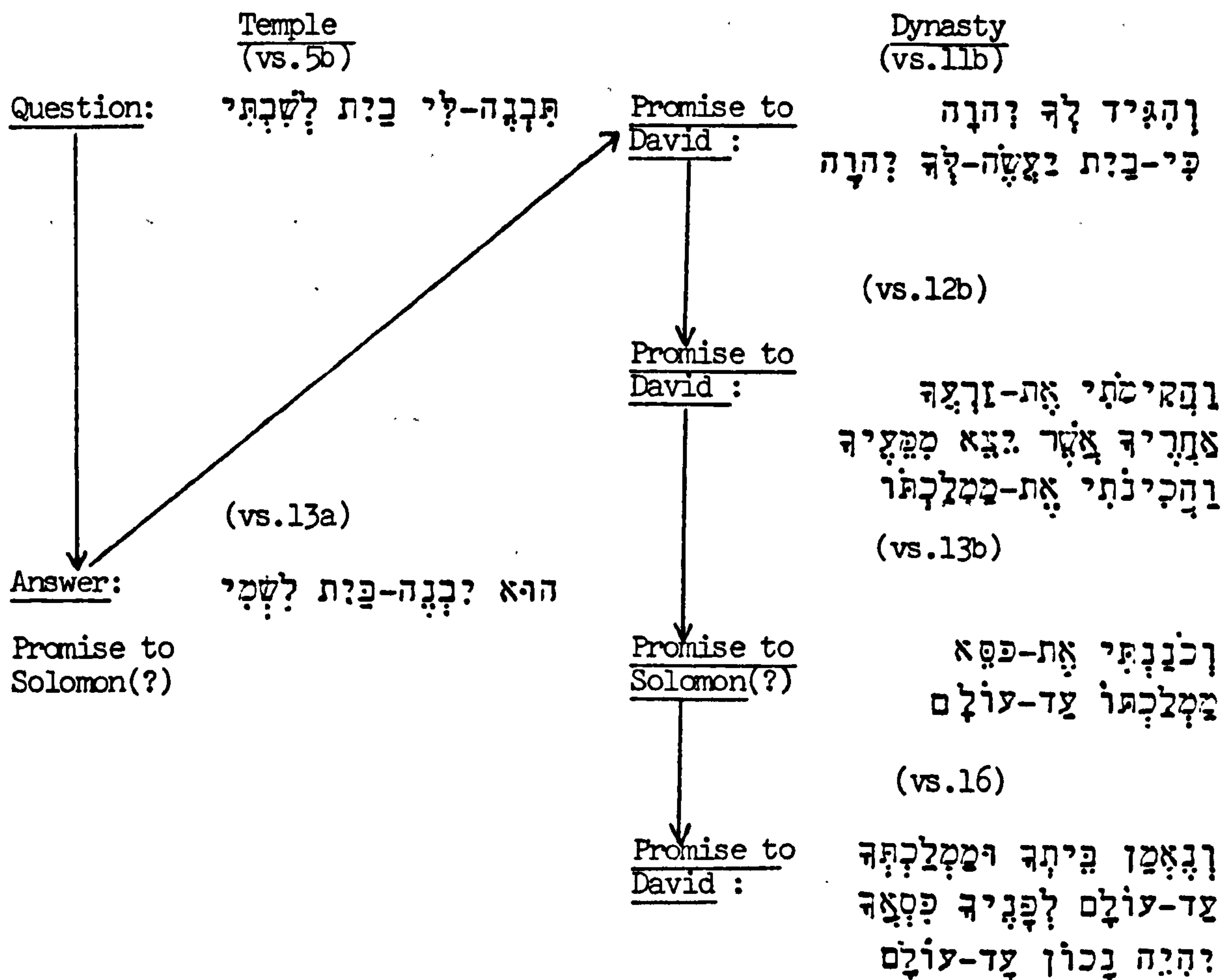
The house of David will be established forever. (7:16,29).

Although vs.16 contains the first explicit statement in II Sam.7 that the Davidic dynasty (as opposed to the Solomonic kingdom of vs.13) will be established forever, there is a series of statements that leads up to the claim of vs.16. These statements are contained in vss.11b,12b, and 13, with

vs.5b acting as a type of introduction. Several scholars have pointed out the relationship between vss.5b and 13a,⁴⁵ Wellhausen and others extending this relationship to include vs.11b as well.⁴⁶ Vs.11b is clearly to be related to 12b as well as to vs.13b, the latter reading as an elaboration of 12b.⁴⁷

All of the verses isolated above. are crucial for understanding our reaffirmation. They contain the kernel of the dynastic promise to David, which as in II Sam.6 is interwoven with the role of the Davidic dynasty as the custodians of the Yahweh cult in Jerusalem. The promise of dynasty and temple exist in a complementary and supporting relationship with each other. Much of this is based on the 'double' use of the word מִקְדָּשׁ (מִקְדָּשׁ: temple vss.5b,13a.....

177: dynasty vs.11b,16). This relationship can be set out
 as follows:



On the basis of the above analysis, there are four different words that are employed in the divine promise to the house of David. These are, מֶלֶךְ (vss.11b,16);

בֵּית (vs.12b); מִקְדָּשׁ (vss.12b,13b,16) and דָּוִד (vs.13b). We have already mentioned the double use of מֶלֶךְ in II Sam.7. Whereas in vss.5b and 13a (cf. also vs.7) it refers to the temple, in 11b and 16 it refers to a dynasty.⁴⁸ But this use of מֶלֶךְ by the narrator constitutes far more than a clever play upon words. It 'cements' the close relationship between the Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem cult that was established in II Sam.6.⁴⁹ The exchange of

מֶלֶךְ between Yahweh and the Davidic dynasty is indeed a reaffirmation of the insoluble bond that joins the two parties.⁵⁰

It may be significant to note that the promise of a מֶלֶךְ is made only to David (vss.11b,16), and occurs in what Rost and others regard as the "very ancient" part of the chapter.⁵¹ As the chapter now stands, there is therefore the important distinction of having the מֶלֶךְ (dynasty) promised to David, and the מֶלֶךְ (temple) built by Solomon. Mettinger has argued that, originally, both were associated with Solomon, i.e. the promise of an eternal dynasty was made to Solomon in the earliest tradition. The tradition was later redacted to make the promise apply to David.⁵² There seems to be hardly any evidence to substantiate this claim. Given the important political and cultic role played by David in the establishment of the Israelite state and cult, and in light of the wealth of traditions that came to be attached to him,⁵³ he would be the natural candidate upon whom to build a promise of divine dynastic election. We are

therefore inclined to treat the dynastic promise to David as original.⁵⁴

This promise as it appears in vs.11b, is expanded in vs.12b to embrace David's וְיָרְדָּה. Mettinger has correctly pointed out that וְיָרְדָּה as used here is "strangely ambiguous".⁵⁵ It can in the context of vs.11b mean all of David's descendants, while in the light of vs.13, it can be interpreted to apply to the one who will build the temple, i.e. Solomon. This ambiguity has led either to an undermining of the close link between vs.11b and vs.12b⁵⁶ or to the treatment of vs.13 as a later insertion into the material.⁵⁷ But if, as we have argued, vss.11b,12b and 13 are very closely linked to each other,⁵⁸ then these solutions for dealing with the apparent ambiguity of vs.12b are untenable.⁵⁹

It would seem that the ambiguity may be no coincidence, and may not necessarily be the end result of redactional inconsistency. It seems as if the way in which

וְיָרְדָּה is being used provides the elasticity that is necessary to hold together in a creative tension, the specific and general dimensions of the dynastic promise to the house of David. As such, vs.12b becomes crucial for understanding how the promise could be transferred, in a very specific way, to each Davidic king.

If one aspect of the expansion of the divine promise of vs.11b is the raising up (וְיָרְדָּה) of David's וְיָרְדָּה, the other is the establishment (וְיָרְדָּה) of his/their kingdom (מַמְלָכָתָם). The מַמְלָכָתָם of vs.12b should be seen to exist in what can be termed a 'synonymous/complementary' relationship to the וְיָרְדָּה of vs.11b. The

former carries connotations of power, the latter emphasizes continuity. The two merge in the concept of the שָׁרָף . In the Old Testament tradition, the שָׁרָף of the individual is not only a symbol of his power, but also a guarantee of the continuation of his name (שֵׁם). Thus in I Sam.24:21, Saul begs David not to destróy his שָׁרָף and his name (שֵׁם). Just as the possession of שָׁרָף can be an indication of Yahweh's blessing (בְּרָכָה), so its absence can be a sign of his rejection.⁶⁰ מַמְלָכָה and תְּבָרָה as these are used in II Sam.7 are therefore synonyms for the royal power that comes as a divine gift to David and his dynasty. The same can be said of קֶטֶף (vs.13b).

The promise of vs.13b paves the way for that in vs.16. We may note how vs.13b takes the promise of 12b to a new level. The term לְיָמֵי-נְעֻם is now used for the first time to describe the divine promise.⁶¹ There is therefore the movement from תְּבָרָה (vs.11b) to מַמְלָכָה (vs.12b), to

$\text{לְיָמֵי-נְעֻם מַמְלָכָה}$ (vs.13b). It would be difficult not to treat the latter promise as including David as well as Solomon. There is a strong sense in which Solomon's kingdom is also David's kingdom. Indeed the kingdom (including Judah and Israel), never ceases to be David's kingdom. The recurring term לְמַעַן דָּוִד (for the sake of David), within I and II Kings seems to bear this out (cf. I Kings 11:12,13,32; 15:4; II Kings 8:19; 19:34b; 20:6). Promise and possession seem to be simply two variations on the covenantal understanding of Yahweh's relationship with David.⁶² On the basis of this line of argument, we are not dealing with two promises within II Sam.7, but one promise to the Davidic dynasty.⁶³

When we turn to vs.16, we soon discover that this

verse gathers up all the 'dynastic' elements that are present in the preceding material.⁶⁴ נָתַן, מִלְכּוּת and

אֲדָמָה are all present, but now used in a stronger sense by having the two Niphal participles נִתְּנָה and נִכְוָן modified by לְדָוִד וְלְבֵיתוֹ. The 'making sure' of the Davidic house forever places Yahweh firmly on the side of David and his descendants. This theme is elaborated on in vss.18-29. The claim that everything in these verses "revolves around the promise to the Davidic dynasty",⁶⁵ is an apt description of their main thrust and content.

But there is another important way in which the promise of vs.16 is further enhanced in vss.18-29. It is now placed within the context of David's pious response to the divine promise, and to a lesser extent, within the context of Yahweh's election of Israel (cf.vs.24). That David's prayerful response takes place לְפָנֵי הָאָרֶן (vs.18 i.e. before the Ark, reintroduces the theme of the close relationship between this ancient symbol of Yahweh's presence and the Davidic dynasty. This theme which was introduced in II Sam.6 is used there to support David's confession of his election by Yahweh to be king of all Israel (cf.vss.20-23). It is used for a similar purpose in II Sam.7: 18-29. On this occasion, David is not simply made to confess his divine election to kingship, but goes beyond this to confess the divine election of his dynasty (נָתַן) for ever (לְדָוִד וְלְבֵיתוֹ) (vs.29).

The Davidic promise as it is now reflected in II Sam.7, represents the development of a hope that was to reach its apex in the Messianic tradition.⁶⁶ But long before

this point, it must have functioned, at least in Jerusalem and Judah, as what Carlson terms the "ideological motivation of the continued existence of the Davidic dynasty up to the time of the final catastrophe in 2 Kings 25".⁶⁷ There are those who would argue that it even went beyond this date.⁶⁸ The theology that supported this 'eternal' understanding of Yahweh's promise to the Davidic dynasty is marvellously summed up in the words of von Rad :

This saving word of Yahweh, injected at one particular point into the history, passed down through the ages like a guardian angel and had the effect of preserving and saving when Judah's existence in the eyes of Yahweh was already forfeit.⁶⁹

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Affirmation

The Ark is the (only) legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (6:6-12b).

Reaffirmation

The Ark is the ancient legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (7:1-7).

Within II Sam.6 - I Kings 8, the role played by the Ark is inextricably bound up with the fate and fortunes of the Davidic dynasty.⁷⁰ In II Sam.6, David's installation of the Ark in Jerusalem provides the context for a confession that Yahweh has elected the Davidic dynasty to rule Israel, while in II Sam.7, David's initiative to build a house for the Ark leads to the proclamation that Yahweh will establish his dynasty for ever.

II Sam.7:1-7 should be interpreted against the background of II Sam.6:1-19. The Ark's dramatic demonstration

of Yahweh's power and presence in the Uzzah episode (vss.6-11), as well as its triumphal entry and installation in the city of David form a natural background to the plans of David in 7:1-3. David's statement in 7:2 is a direct reference to 6:17 where the Ark is placed בְּתוֹךְ הָאֹהֶל.⁷¹ There is however a significant difference between 6:17 and 7:2. Instead of the word אֹהֶל (tent) the word קִרְיָה (curtain) is used in 7:2. This seems to convey the idea that the Ark was inadequately housed.

The state of the Ark בְּתוֹךְ הָקִרְיָה can probably be understood as being sacrilegious given the power and significance attached to it in ch.6.⁷² Its present 'sacrilegious' condition is heightened considerably by the contrast that exists between this and David's own condition. In vss.1-2b, we are told that the king had been given rest from his enemies⁷³ and now dwells in a house of cedar (בְּבֵית אֲרָזִים).⁷⁴ The security of David is contrasted with the insecurity of the Ark. But ironically, this insecurity of position serves to draw attention to its important status that was affirmed in ch.6.

Just as the contrast of the בֵּית אֲרָזִים of the king with the קִרְיָה of the Ark functions to emphasize the Ark's cultic significance, that between its proposed בֵּית (יֵשֶׁב) future and its הִתְהַלָּךְ past,⁷⁵ heightens the crucial role it played in Israel's history. As in II Sam.6, Yahweh's power and presence symbolized by the Ark is presented as functioning independent of the intentions of Israel's rulers.⁷⁶ This idea is reflected in Gese's rendering of the question of vs.5b:

as,

נִעְצָמָה תְּכַנֶּנָּה-לִּי בַּיִת לְשִׁכְתִּי

do you a man plan to build a house
for me God? ⁷⁷

Yahweh's security, unlike that of man i.e. the king, does not depend on a house.

This point is brought out by placing the significance of the Ark within Israel's most vulnerable and crucial period, that stretches from the Exodus to the establishment of the Davidic dynasty (vs.6). It is within this period that the Ark (Yahweh) demonstrated its (his) true significance. This

הַתְּקֵלָה period was not unlike that of David immediately before his election as king.⁷⁸

Some scholars are inclined to treat 7:6-7 as an anti-temple strand of tradition.⁷⁹ It however seems to be more "pro-Ark" than "anti-temple". Among other things, the tradition contained in vss.6-7 seems to function as a counterbalance to the dominant temple ideology, which as Ahlström and others have pointed out, was rooted in Canaanite culture.⁸⁰ Attention has been drawn in discussions on 7:1-7, to a section of the Ugaritic material in which a house of cedar (bt arzm) was built by Baal to ensure the continued existence of the cosmos.⁸¹ Willesen has argued for the presence of a similar idea behind II Sam.7.⁸² If so, the strong pro-Ark sentiments of 7:6-7 may represent a tradition that saw the temple as a possible source of Canaanite influence. It declares that the Ark was not to be relegated from its long historical position as Israel's cultic focal point.⁸³

A very important concept present in 7:6-7 is the

concept that Yahweh cannot be bound to one place.⁸⁴ The

מִקְדָּשׁ motif as well as the "formulaic pair" אֵלֹהִים and מִקְדָּשׁ suggest this.⁸⁵ Along with being a symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (II Sam.6), the Ark is now being declared a symbol of his freedom.⁸⁶ This aspect of the symbolic significance of the Ark was no doubt in great danger of being lost when it was installed מִקְדָּשׁ (in its place) in Jerusalem. Placing it within a temple was an even greater threat. But it seems as if there were conscious efforts to preserve this important side of the Ark's significance. First Jerusalem and then the temple were interpreted as owing their existence not to man's initiative, but to Yahweh's free choice.⁸⁷ This is the message of II Sam.7.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh Cult

Affirmation

Jerusalem, the resting place of the Ark, is the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult (6:16-19).

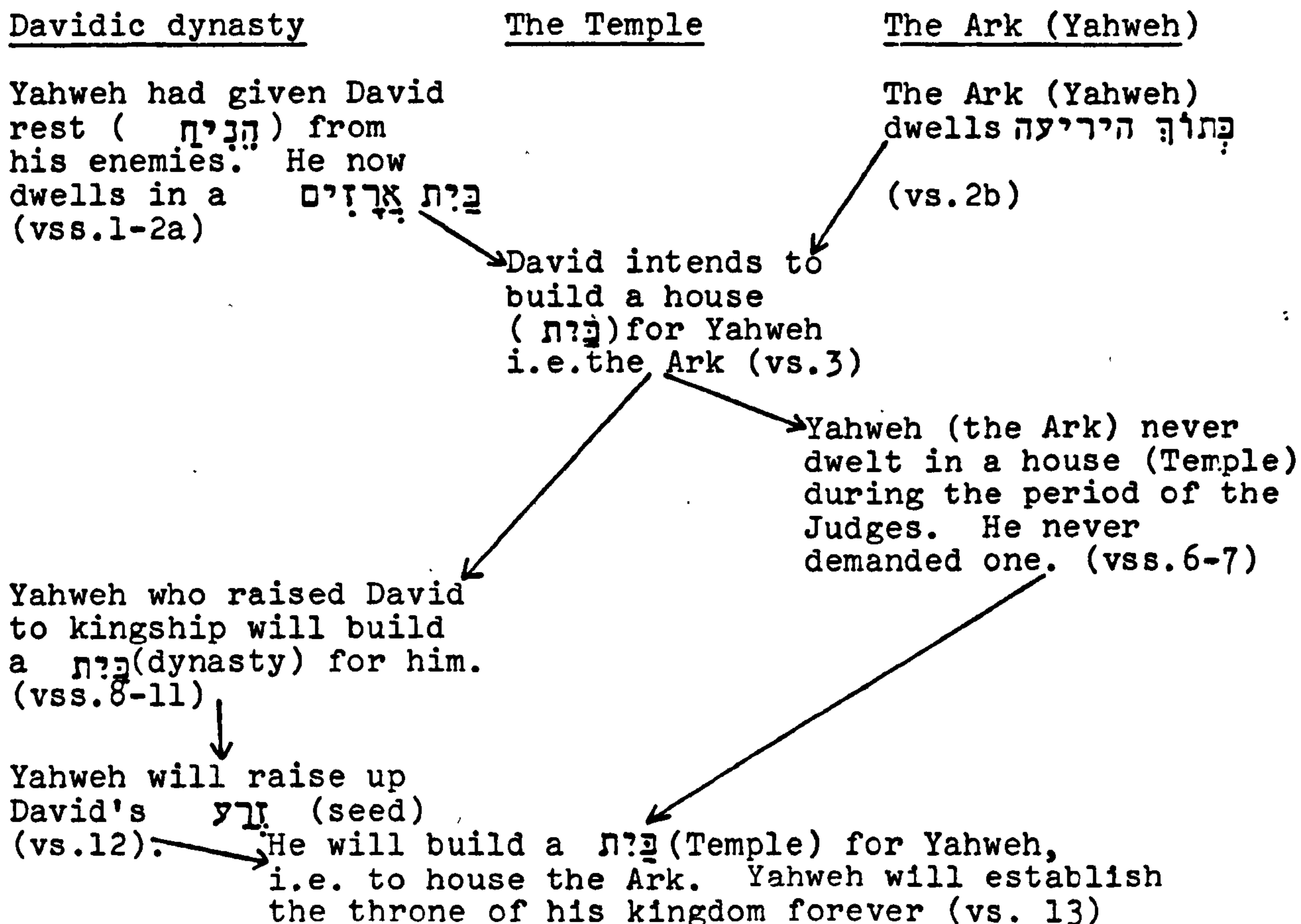
Reaffirmation

The Jerusalem cult will be strengthened by the building of a temple to house the Ark (Yahweh) (7:13).

The reinforcement of the role of the Ark in the legitimate Yahweh cult is matched with equal emphasis on the legitimate place of the temple as a (new?) cultic focal point. 7:12-15, in what seems like a continuation of vss.1-7,⁸⁸ addresses what must have been a perplexing question of the post-Davidic era : Why is it that David never built a temple?⁸⁹ This question seems to have been alive as late as the Chronicler who felt compelled to credit David with drawing up the plans for the temple, leaving the task of building it to Solomon.⁹⁰

The narrator of II Sam.7 addresses the question of temple building in the context of the traditions of the Ark and the election of the Davidic dynasty. Whereas vss.1-7 seem to place the cultic significance of the Ark beyond dispute, vss.12-15 seek to do the same for the temple, by claiming that the very time of its building was decided by Yahweh. The importance attached to having divine approval may reflect a non-Israelite practice associated with the building of temples.⁹¹

This approval is given in vs.13, a verse which many commentators treat as a late entry into II Sam.7.⁹² Whatever its time of entry into the chapter, it now performs a crucial function in drawing together the three major themes of the chapter, the Ark, the temple and the election of the Davidic dynasty. The interplay of the three themes in relation to the role of vs.13 can be set out as follows:



Given the above outline of the relationship of vs.13 to the other major themes in vss.1-17, the building of the temple, like the moving of the Ark to Jerusalem, is placed firmly within the context of Yahweh's election of the Davidic dynasty.⁹³ The temple, like the Ark, becomes a symbol of Yahweh's special relationship with the Davidic dynasty.⁹⁴ The building of the temple and the divine dynastic promise can therefore be juxtaposed as they are in vs.13.

Vs.13a contains an element of what von Rad and others have termed the דָּוָר ideology (theology) of the Deuteronomic group. It views the temple as the place where Yahweh's 'causes his name (דָּוָר) to dwell', Yahweh himself dwelling in heaven (cf. I Kings 8:16ff).⁹⁵ Vs.13a is clearly linked to II Sam.6:2, where the term דָּוָר is employed in the description of the Ark.⁹⁶ It is possible that the element of דָּוָר theology in vs.13a, may be an attempt to transfer one of the ancient claims attached to the Ark to the Jerusalem temple.⁹⁷ The 'transfer' motif is clearly at work in I Kings 8 where the Ark is moved in a Solemn procession into the temple. Here is a dramatic affirmation that the temple can now lay claim to all the ancient traditions associated with the Ark. The same idea is at work in II Sam.7:13a. This verse provides the divine approval for the merging of the old with the new.

It would seem however that the merger was achieved at the expense of the central independent role once played by the Ark. With its movement into the temple it probably became just another feature of the temple which was the "real centre of the official cult".⁹⁸ It undoubtedly became a

very important element in the so-called Zion tradition that eventually dominated a wide spectrum of the Old Testament tradition.⁹⁹ But it was above all else, the supreme symbol of Yahweh's presence among his people, strengthening the claim that it was in Jerusalem that Yahweh's legitimate cult was to be found.

4. Five common themes of I Kings 13 and II Sam.7 that are used to create the two royal models of disfavour (Jeroboam) and favour (David).

In our previous chapter, we were able to isolate five themes which are employed with contrasting effect in the Jeroboam and Davidic material. Following the same method, we shall now attempt to draw out five common themes from I Kings 13 and II Sam.7 with specific emphasis on how these themes function to create Jeroboam and David into contrasting models of kingship.

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

First theme : Dynastic destiny

<u>Jeroboam's dynasty will be cut off</u> : A manifestation of divine disfavour (vs.34).	<u>David's dynasty will be established forever</u> : A manifestation of divine favour (vss.-6,29).
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In the Old Testament tradition, the possession of descendants is treated as one of the sure signs of divine favour (cf. Pss.127:3-5; 128:2-4).¹⁰⁰ One of the promises made to the patriarchs is the promise of great progeny, a manifestation of their favourable relationship with Yahweh (cf.Gen.12:2; 17:26; 26:24). This concept is summed up in Ps.127:3-5,

Lo, sons are a heritage from the Lord,
 the fruit of the womb a reward.
 Like arrows in the hand of a warrior
 are the sons of one's youth.
 Happy is the man who has his quiver
 full of them!

One of the strongest expressions of the concept is to be found in the book of Job. His possession of seven sons and three daughters constitutes a strong indicator of his right (נֶזֶק) relationship with Yahweh (cf. Job.1:1ff).¹⁰¹

But the book of Job also reflects the other side of the equation. The loss of his children (as well as his other possessions) could be interpreted as a sign of Yahweh's disfavour. The same idea is expressed in Ps.21 where the destruction of offspring is the judgement that falls upon the enemy of Yahweh's anointed :

Your hand will find out all your enemies....
 You will destroy their offspring from the earth,
 and their children from among the sons of men.
 (vss.8a,10)

The fate of the enemy of Yahweh's anointed can be contrasted with the blessings that are conferred upon the king (cf. vss.1-7).

The dynastic destinies of Jeroboam and David are clearly to be placed within the above context. That Jeroboam's dynasty did not survive for many years after his death, is here interpreted as a sign of Yahweh's disfavour. According to I Kings 15:27, Baasha assassinated Nadab the son of Jeroboam to take control of the kingdom. We are also told that he went on to exterminate the house of Jeroboam (vs.29a). What must have surely been a move on the part of Baasha to consolidate his position of power becomes for the narrator of I Kings 15, and 13:34, an expression of Yahweh's

disfavour with Jeroboam's cultic policies (cf. 15:30).

Just as the failure of Jeroboam's dynasty to survive for many years after his death could be interpreted as a sign of divine disfavour, so the resilience of the Davidic dynasty must have been the basis of much of the theology about its eternal survival.¹⁰² Although it is difficult to identify the exact point in time for the start of the 'eternal dynasty' tradition, it was probably during the Solomonic era.¹⁰³ The many folk traditions that had developed around David, many of which are still to be found within SDR, presented him as one highly favoured by Yahweh.¹⁰⁴

It is these same traditions that form the natural background to the conviction that Yahweh had not only led David to the throne, but had also promised him that his descendants will secure the throne forever. The historical experience of a relatively stable dynasty in the South compared with the instability and eventual destruction of the North, must have provided another pillar of support for the idea of an eternal Davidic dynasty.¹⁰⁵ The idea was expounded in terms of a divine promise to David, the one favoured by Yahweh.

Given all that we have said above, we can safely claim that the theme of 'dynastic destiny' functions in the Jeroboam and Davidic material to create the two kings into contrasting models of kingship. A historical factor over which the kings had little or no control, i.e. the survival of their dynasties beyond their death, was thus transformed into divine threat (Jeroboam) and divine promise (David). The promise as it now stands in II Sam. 7 is shaped to present

David as one who exists in a close and special relationship to Yahweh. This is the very opposite of the Jeroboam-Yahweh relationship. For unlike David, he is presented as being in conflict with Yahweh, the consequence of which is the removal of his dynasty 'from the face of the earth' (13:34).

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Second theme: The king's gift to Yahweh

Jeroboam offers (or is about to offer) a gift of incense upon the altar of his bull shrine. The gift is rejected with a prophetic threat.

David intends to offer a house (temple) to Yahweh to house the Ark. The gift is 'delayed' and will be offered by David's (seed/son). A prophetic promise is made to David. (vss.1-3,12-13).

In the Old Testament tradition, the offering of incense is central to Israel's response to Yahweh.¹⁰⁶ It is regarded as a priestly function (cf. Num. 6:5ff; I Sam. 2:28), and normally accompanies sacrificial offerings (cf. Lev. 2:1,15; 6:8; Is. 43:23; Jer. 17:26; 41:51). Incense is very closely associated with the presence of Yahweh, and was probably used to "provide a vivid image of the divine presence".¹⁰⁷ Against this background, the reasons for the rejection of Jeroboam's gift must be twofold. Firstly, he is not in the eyes of the narrator, a legitimate cultic functionary, priest or priest-king,¹⁰⁸ and secondly, the altar of the bull shrine upon which he is about to burn his incense cannot be associated with Yahweh's presence. Jeroboam is therefore depicted as an illegitimate cultic person who offers a gift to Yahweh at an illegitimate shrine. The gift is consequently illegitimate as well.

We can contrast the status of Jeroboam with that

of David. Whereas Jeroboam is introduced in I Kings 13 standing at his illegitimate shrine, all ready to officiate as priest-king, in other words he is presented as being in a faulty relationship with Yahweh; David is introduced in II Sam.7 as one who is in a harmonious relationship with Yahweh. He is secure in his house, and he has been given rest from all his enemies by Yahweh (vss.1,2a). In other words, his circumstances are ideal for offering a gift to Yahweh. His own secure legitimate position provides the opportunity for offering the same security to Yahweh (the Ark).

This contrast of positions which is important for the creation of the two models is heightened by Yahweh's response to the kings' intended actions. Jeroboam's gift, offered as it is in a context of illegitimacy, is totally rejected. The rejection is dramatically emphasized by the destruction of the altar before Jeroboam can offer his gift of incense, as well as in the pouring out (שִׁפְךָ) of the ashes. The loss of ashes removes the crucial element for the offering of incense. The narrator could have hardly chosen a better way to present the motif of divine rejection.

But the fate of the ashes on Jeroboam's altar may carry another significance. In Lev.4:1ff, part of the ritual of the sin offering (זֶבַח חַטֹּאת) stipulates the pouring out (שִׁפְךָ) of the ashes of the sacrificial animal (a bull)

לְמִחֹרָץ לְמִחֹרָץ (outside the camp) (vs.12).¹⁰⁹ The pouring out of ashes is closely linked to the sin of the community. It stands as a symbol of guilt and sin, within the community, although the rite may also be understood as an attempt to correct sin. This 'double' symbolism may also be at work in the threat against the altar at Bethel. Its

tearing down, and the pouring out of the ashes, are clearly to be understood as signifying the sin which the cult of Bethel represents. At the same time, however, the destruction of the altar can be interpreted as the correction and removal of the sin associated with it.¹¹⁰

The rejection of Jeroboam's gift of incense finds its direct contrast in Nathan's initial response to David's intention to offer a house to Yahweh (vs.3). This contrast becomes less acute as David's gift does not receive immediate acceptance. We should note that vs.13 serves to create the impression in the narrative that David's gift is 'delayed' rather than rejected outright. Unlike I Kings 13, the divine response to the gift is not 'threat' but 'promise'. We can contrast the זָרַק motif of I Kings 13 with the נָתַן motif of II Sam.7. Indeed the delaying of David's gift ensures the building of his dynasty. The delay provides the opportunity for the fulfilment of a divine promise.

The motif of divine acceptance/rejection of gifts, is used elsewhere in the Old Testament to create models of favour/disfavour. Its classic expression is to be found in the Cain-Abel story, where Yahweh rejects the offering of Cain, but accepts that of Abel (Gen.4:3ff).¹¹¹ The hostile reaction of Cain, the model of disfavour in the story, has a striking correspondence in Jeroboam's reaction to the threat of the man of God. We shall now go on to see what role the king's reaction to the divine response to his gift plays in the creation of the two royal models.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Third theme : The king's response to the prophetic word
on the future of his national shrine

<p><u>Jeroboam</u> reacts in hostility to the threat that his shrine at Bethel will be destroyed. (vs.4).</p>	<p><u>David</u> reacts in piety to the promise that Yahweh's shrine will be strengthened by the building of a temple, and Yahweh will build him (David) a house (dynasty). (vss.18-29).</p>
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Jeroboam's reaction to the prophetic threat of the man of God introduces into the narrative of I Kings 13 the traditional prophet-king conflict. This model of prophet-king relationship is well represented in Samuel-Kings (cf. I Kings 17- II Kings 1) and is also present in the classical prophets (cf. Amos 7:10ff; Jer.36).¹¹² It often serves to draw out the contrasts between the actions of the king/people and the demands of Yahweh.

The narrator of I Kings 13 employs the popular term "to stretch out (put forth) the hand" (וַיִּשְׁלַח יָדָאָה) to describe part of Jeroboam's reaction to the threat of the man of God (vs.4). The term is used several times in Samuel-Kings to denote hostility (cf. I Sam.22:17; 24:11; 26:11; II Sam.18:12). Of special interest is David's refusal in I Sam.24:11 to "put forth his hand" (וְלֹא-אֶשְׁלַח יָדִי) to harm Saul (cf. also 26:11). Just as this attitude of David is meant to depict him as a paragon of virtue, that of Jeroboam towards the man of God casts him in the category of those who have little regard for the prophetic word of Yahweh. In other words, it creates him into a model of disfavour.

David's physical response to the prophetic word of Nathan is also in contrast to Jeroboam's response to the

man of God. This response is described in vs.18a :

וַיָּשָׁב לִפְנֵי יְהוָה

The phrase וַיָּשָׁב לִפְנֵי יְהוָה denotes a position of prayer,¹¹³ and sets the tone for the prayer which follows. The motif of piety is therefore introduced through the description of David's 'physical' response to the prophetic word. It is then further developed through the content of the prayer in vss.18b-29.

Within vss.18b-29 there are a number of statements that sustain the motif of piety in the material, and so contribute to the creation of David into a model of favour. Of great significance is David's confession of Yahweh's goodness to him (vss.18b-21, 25-29), and to Israel (vss.23-24). We encounter some important elements of Old Testament piety within these two confessions. Vs.18b introduces the motif of Yahweh's initiative in David's rise to kingship. It picks up the theme of vss.8-9 where this initiative is presented in terms of David's past and present modes of life. This move from obscurity into prominence is acknowledged in vs.18b, and serves to place David among the pious who acknowledge their great indebtedness to Yahweh.¹¹⁴

One of the high points of David's prayer is reached in vs.22 where Yahweh is described as unique among the Gods:

עַל-כֵּן גִּדְּלָתָהּ אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה כִּי-אֵין כָּמוֹהָ
וְאֵין אֱלֹהִים זֶהְלָתָהּ בְּכָל-אֲשֶׁר-שָׁמְעָנוּ בְּאָזְנוֹתֵינוּ

Yahweh's pre-eminence among the gods is a theme that occurs in the Psalter (cf. Pss.96:5; 115:3ff).¹¹⁵ It should probably

be counted as the precursor to the monotheism that is expressed in Second Isaiah (cf. Is. 41:7; 44:9-20).¹¹⁶ But even the statement of vs. 22 representing as it does a pre-monotheistic stage, seems to "leave no room for the worship of other gods".¹¹⁷ Placed as it is on the lips of David, it presents him as a devout worshipper of Yahweh with little time for other gods. This image of David can be contrasted with that in I Sam. 26:19 where he was forced by Saul to go and serve other gods. But an even greater contrast can be drawn between David who confesses the incomparability of Yahweh among the gods, and Jeroboam who is accused of creating new gods for his people (I Kings 12:28ff).

A contrast along similar lines can be drawn between Jeroboam and David on the basis of I Sam. 7:23-24. These verses are brimful of textual problems.¹¹⁸ They however contain a clear reference to the Exodus, citing this event as one of Yahweh's great saving acts performed for Israel.¹¹⁹ There is also a clear reference to the occupation of the land. What we have within vss. 23-24, are two of the important elements of what von Rad claims are Israel's confessions of her faith, the so-called credal confessions.¹²⁰ By crediting this confession to David, the narrator of II Sam. 7 enhances David's pious image, just as the narrator in I Kings 12:28 discredits Jeroboam by making him declare his calves the god of the Exodus. This image of Jeroboam is still at work in I Kings 13, where he attempts to foil the attempt of Yahweh to remove his error. He does this by ordering the arrest of the man of God (vs. 4).

The above discussion indicates that Jeroboam and David stand on opposite sides of the spectrum of piety.

Jeroboam's hostile response to the prophetic word, stands in stark contrast to the prayerful response of David.

Jeroboam, by the very nature of his response continues to be a model of disfavour. David, presented as a man of prayer, is still the royal model of favour.

Fourth theme: Yahweh's salvation as a free gift to the king

Jeroboam offers the man of God a gift for bringing about the restoration of his hand (vs.7).

David acknowledges that his position of security as well as the promised dynasty is a free gift of Yahweh (vs.18b).

Reward for prophetic duties is sometimes treated as a sign of prophetic degeneration in the Old Testament (cf. Mic.3:11). The acceptance of payment or reward was probably linked to the deliverance of a message that was in line with the wishes of the court, especially those of the king. However, there were some prophets whose message reflected their independence of court and king.¹²¹

The story of Micaiah ben Imlah in I Kings 22 seems to indicate that the message of the professional court prophets could be in keeping with the wishes of the court, whereas that of the 'independent' prophets as represented by Micaiah could often cut across the 'official' position (cf. also Jer.27-28).¹²²

The offering of a reward to a prophet is contrary to the understanding that the prophetic office is a free gift of Yahweh, to be dispensed without reward. This is dramatically emphasized in the story of Gehazi in II Kings 5:1-27.¹²³ It is also embodied in the concept of the 'call' in the classical prophets. The prophet then, is to operate as an agent of

Yahweh carrying his word to the people. This is reflected in I Kings 13:1 where the man of God goes to Bethel, not on his own initiative, but **בְּדִבַּר יְהוָה**. It is under the same **דִּבַּר יְהוָה** that he is able to restore Jeroboam's hand (vs.6).

The term used in Jeroboam's request and the prophet's response point to the crucial role of Yahweh in this prophet-king encounter. The request which reads :

**חַל-נָא אֶת-פָּנַי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיךָ
וְהִתְפַּלֵּל בְּעָדַי**

leads to the response,

וַיַּחַל אִישׁ-הָאֱלֹהִים אֶת-פָּנַי יְהוָה

The phrase **חַל-נָא אֶת-פָּנַי יְהוָה** which means literally "make sweet (i.e. placate) the face of Yahweh",¹²⁴ sustains the theme of the 'king under threat'. By interceding for the king and "making sweet the face of Yahweh", the prophet is able to reverse one of the immediate effects of the threat.

Against the background of I Kings 12:26-33, and in the context of 13:4, the salvation shown to Jeroboam in the restoration of his hand is to be understood as totally undeserved. It rests solely on Yahweh's generosity as well as his magnanimity. Jeroboam's offer of money to the prophet is therefore nothing short of a disgraceful affront to Yahweh's generosity.

When we turn to II Sam.7, we discover that the narrator makes David acutely aware of Yahweh's generosity. The response is not a reward, but a question of piercing humility :

**מִי אֲנֹכִי אֲדֹנָי יְהוָה וּמִי בֵיתִי
כִּי הִבִּיאֲתָנִי עַד-הַלֵּם**

Indeed coming as it does after Yahweh's refusal to accept

the gift David would like to offer him, and Yahweh's promise to David (vss.1-17), this question portrays David as acknowledging that the promise of an "eternal dynasty"¹²⁵ is 'sola gratia'.¹²⁶

Once more a common theme is used for contrasting purposes, and indeed with contrasting effect in I Kings 13 and II Sam.7. The two kings are made to respond in contrasting ways to a saving gesture from Yahweh. The one who acknowledges this gesture as a free gift, i.e. David, is the model of favour; Jeroboam, who does not, is the model of disfavour.

Fifth theme : The receptivity of the king to the prophetic word on the future of his national shrine

Jeroboam did not turn from his evil ways in spite of the message and the death of the man of God (vs.33)

David heeds Nathan's (Yahweh's) advice and does not carry out his plans to build a temple. (Implied)

Refusal to heed the prophet is one of the dominant motifs in the classical prophets and in Samuel-Kings.¹²⁷ The gravity with which this attitude is treated in Samuel-Kings is indicated by the fact that it is cited as one of the reasons for the downfall of the northern kingdom (cf. II Kings 17:13-14). In I Kings 13:33, the motif is applied directly to the Jeroboam-man of God encounter.

Jeroboam's lack of receptivity to the prophetic word is expressed in vs.33a through the שִׁב motif. In what reads like a reflection on the two stories in vss.1-32, the narrator states :

עֲמֹר הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה לֹא-שָׁב זֶרְבָבָם
מִדְרָכּוֹ הַרְעָה

The claim is, that Jeroboam refused to return to legitimacy in spite of having the opportunity to do so. The word of the man of God, the מֵלֶכֶת (vss.3-4), the 'drying up' (תִּיבֵּי) and the restoration (רִפּוּי) of Jeroboam's hand (vss.4b-5), and the authentication of the threat of the man of God through his own death, were in the opinion expressed in vs.33a, unable to bring about a return (שׁוּב) of Jeroboam and the north to the legitimate Yahweh cult. All these were met with absolute obduracy from Jeroboam.

David's receptivity to the prophetic word is the direct opposite to that of Jeroboam. There has been much discussion on the absence of any reference to the building of the temple in II Sam.7:18-29. The solutions offered to this apparent enigma have largely proceeded along tradition-historical lines, treating vss.18-19 as representing a strand of tradition that differs from the Ark/temple traditions of vss.1-7, and originating from a different group.¹²⁸ But how valid is this understanding of the relationship between the traditions in vss.1-7, and David's prayer (vss.18-29)?

The relationship of the two can be understood in the context of our present theme, "The receptivity of the king to Yahweh's message (revelation)." Within this context the lack of reference to the building of the temple in vss.18-29 could be the narrator's method of stating that David accepted without question the divine prohibition against his construction of the temple.¹²⁹ What better way to emphasize David's receptivity to the divine word? By David's 'silence' the narrator is therefore claiming that Yahweh's message to David through Nathan was heeded.

Once more Jeroboam and David can be seen to stand

on opposite sides of the relationship with Yahweh. The former stands impervious to Yahweh's word and consequently incurs the divine threat. David as the model of receptivity reaps the divine blessings. The impervious quality which has been introduced into the Jeroboam material in this stage of the development of the two royal models appears at several other stages in the history of the northern kingdom. It seems to be treated as one of the 'hereditary characteristics' passed on by Jeroboam to the kings and people of the north.

In keeping with the method of analysis pursued in the previous chapter, we can now set out the thematic interaction of I Kings 13 and II Sam.7 in relationship to the "Threats" and "Reaffirmations" we have isolated. (see overleaf).

Model of DisfavourModel of FavourThreatReaffirmationA. Israel's legitimate dynasty

The house of Jeroboam will be cut off and destroyed from the face of the earth (I Kings 13:34).

The house of David will be established forever (II Sam.7:16,29).

First Theme

Dynastic destiny

Jeroboam's dynasty will be cut off: A manifestation of divine disfavour (I Kings 13:33-34).

David's dynasty will be established forever: A manifestation divine favour (II Sam.7:16,19).

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

The altar at Bethel with its bull symbol will be desecrated and torn down (I Kings 13:1-3).

The Ark is the ancient symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (II Sam.7:1-7).

Second Theme

The king's gift to Yahweh

Jeroboam offers (or is about to offer) a gift of incense upon the altar of his bull shrine, but the gift is rejected by Yahweh (I Kings 13:1-5).

David intends to offer a house (temple) to Yahweh to house the Ark, but the gift is delayed, and will be offered by his son (seed) (II Sam.7:1-3,12-13).

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

The non-Levitical priests of Bethel will be destroyed sacrificed upon their own altar (I Kings 13:2a).

The cult of Jerusalem will be strengthened by the building of a temple for Yahweh (II Sam.7:12-13).

Third Theme

The king's response to the prophetic word on the future of his national shrine

Jeroboam reacts in hostility to the threat that his shrine at Bethel will be destroyed (I Kings 13:4)

David reacts in piety to the promise that Yahweh's shrine at Jerusalem will be enhanced through the building of a

Model of DisfavourThreatModel of FavourReaffirmation

temple by David's son,
and that Yahweh will build
him (David) a house (dynasty)
(II Sam.7:18-29).

Fourth Theme

Yahweh's salvation as a free gift

Jeroboam offers the man
of God a gift for bring-
ing about the restoration
of his hand (I Kings 13:7).

David acknowledges that his
position of security as well
as the promised dynasty is
a free gift of Yahweh
(II Sam. 7:18b).

Fifth Theme

The receptivity of the king to the
prophetic word on the future of his
national shrine

Jeroboam did not turn
from his evil way in
spite of the message and
the death of the man of
God (I Kings 13:33).

David heeds Nathan's
(Yahweh's) advice and does
not carry out his plans to
build a temple (Implied)

5. Kingship: An explanation and the interpretation of the contrasting experiences of history

This stage of the development of the two royal models, strengthens the relationship created between the models and the experiences of the nation in the previous stages. The models are identified as continuing to generate forces which have contrasting effects upon the kingdoms. These effects are articulated through the theme of sin in the model of disfavour (Jeroboam), and the theme of eternal existence in the model of favour (David).

The cultic innovations of Jeroboam deemed as a sin (13:34; cf. also 12:30), are now credited with the power of destruction. It is true that it is only the dynasty of Jeroboam as opposed to the entire nation which is marked for destruction. But given the inextricable link created between kingship and the nation in Samuel-Kings, the threaten destruction of a dynasty must be understood as carrying some national implications.

This is conveyed in I Kings 13 through the creation of a link between the threatened destruction of Bethel (vss.1-2), the 'death' of Jeroboam's hand (vs.4) and the 'death' of the altar at Bethel. As the altar's loss of ashes is to be understood as a foretaste of its final destruction (vs.3), so Jeroboam's loss of the power of his hands can surely be understood as indicating a time when his entire kingdom will be in a state of powerslessness.

This point is strengthened further through the identification of Josiah as the one who will destroy the altar at Bethel. By the time of Josiah Bethel as it was in Jeroboam's day was no more. It was no longer a national shrine since the nation whose national shrine it was had long disappeared. By introducing Josiah into the narrative of ch.13, the narrator

therefore draws our attention to the time when there was abundant evidence to show that Jeroboam's sin brought disaster not only to his dynasty and shrine, but also to the nation.

The links created between Yahweh, David and the temple (Ark), seem to suggest the very opposite. Emerging out of this relationship is the promise that the Davidic dynasty will last forever (II Sam.7:16,29). This provides the context within which there is a promise of eternal rest for the nation (vs.10). The promise to the nation is inextricably bound up with the promise to David. Indeed David, the prototype of the model of favour, represents at this stage, lasting salvation for his nation.

It seems therefore that II Sam.7 points to the high possibility held up not only to the Davidic dynasty, but to the nation as a whole. The eternal survival of the Davidic dynasty is placed alongside the eternal security (survival?) of the nation. Although both are promises of Yahweh, yet the presence of the Davidic dynasty becomes a surety of the promise to the nation. Yahweh's presence with the Davidic dynasty is at the same time an indication of his presence with the nation.

Destruction and salvation are now clearly identified as the products of the model of disfavour and the model of favour respectively. At the same time however, both models continue to wrestle with the relationship between the king and the experiences of the nation. The model of disfavour wrestles with the inevitability of destruction, as spelt out in terms of the sin-consequences (judgement) relationship. The model of favour in direct contrast to the model of disfavour, wrestles with the possibility of hope and salvation, articulated in terms of the

survival of dynasty and nation.

Both models identify the king as the crucial factor which determines the course of the nation's history. Holding the two models together, kingship becomes the channel through which hope and salvation or judgement and destruction come to the nation. Through it the nation receives everlasting salvation (II Sam.7:10) or complete annihilation (I Kings 13:1-5).

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. Noth, Könige, pp. 292ff.

cf. also, Klopfenstein, A. 'Könige 13' Parrhesia,
Fs. K. Barth (Zurich 1966) pp. 693-672.

Fichtner, J. Das Erste Buch von Königen, Die Botschaft
des Alten Testaments, ed. D. D. Fricke,
(Stuttgart, 1964).

2. Eisfeldt, Introduction, p. 46.

3. Rost, The Succession, pp.35ff.

cf. also, Kutsch, E. 'Die Dynastie von Gottes Gnaden:
Probleme der Nathanweissagung in 2 Sam.7' Zth.K. 58
(1961), 137-153.

Poulssen, N. König und Tempel im Glaubenszeugnis des
Alten Testament, Stuttgarter Biblische Monographien
(Stuttgart, 1967), pp.43-55.

4. Mowinckel, 'Natanforjettelsen i 2 Sam. kap.7' SEA 12
(1947) 220-229 as quoted in Mettinger, King and
Messiah, p. 49.

Herrmann, S. 'Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und in Israel.
Ein Beitrag zur Gattungsgeschichte in den Ges-
chichtsbüchern des Alten Testaments' WZ 3
(1953-54) 33-44.

5. cf. above, pp. 59-60.

6. On this structure,

cf. Miller, P. D. Sin and Judgement in the Prophets
(Chicago, 1982)

Wolff, H. W. 'Die Begründung der Prophetischen Heils
und unheilsspruch' ZAW 52 (1934) 1-22.

Tucker, G. M. 'Prophetic Speech' Int 32 (1978) 31-45.

Gemser, B. 'The Rib or Controversy Pattern in Hebrew
Mentality' SVT 3 (1955) 120-137.

7. On the function of this motif in I Kings 12:26-33,
cf. above pp. 62-64.

8. On the peculiarity of this expression,
cf. Burney, Kings, p. 184.
9. On the problems relating to the text and translation of
vs. 33b,
cf. Montgomery, Kings, pp.262, 265;
Burney, Kings, p. 185.
10. cf. Noth, Könige, p. 304;
Gray, I & II Kings, p.333.
11. cf. Burney, Kings, p. 185;
Kraus, Worship, p. 93.
12. cf. above, pp.79-81; 100-102.
13. With Vulgate, LXX, Targum and Syriac (Peshitta).
14. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.333;
Montgomery, Kings, p.262.
15. Reading haddabar instead of MT baddabar, I & II Kings, p.333.
16. He (Gray) reads l^e hatta't bet instead of l^e hatta't bet.
17. *ibid.*
18. On the use of the Hip'il infinitive construct,
cf. Cowley, A. E. (ed) Gesenius' Hebrew Grammar 2nd ed.
15th imp. (Oxford 1982) pp.144ff.
19. cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon,
p. 430.
20. cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon,
p.1029.
21. cf. Young, R. Analytical Concordance to the Holy Bible
8th ed. (London 1979), p. 723.
22. cf. Deut. 2:21, 22, 23 ; 4:3; 31:3,4; Josh.9:24; 11:20;
24:8.
23. This seems to be the presupposition behind most of the
Elijah/Elisha narratives, and Deuteronomy, as well as the
book of Hosea.
cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.1, pp.21ff.

24. cf. the view of Pedersen that לְחַוֵּל constitutes an act by which the community is dissolved.
Israel I-II pp.418ff.
25. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol. 1, p. 156ff.
Blenkinsopp, J. The Pentateuch. ACTA (Chicago 1971),
He speaks of a reversal to "uncreation." pp.46ff.
cf. also, Clines, D. The Theme of the Pentateuch JSOT
Sup. Series 10 (Sheffield 1978), pp.73ff.
26. cf. below, pp. 31ff
27. cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, pp.817-821.
28. For a discussion on the use of this term,
cf. Petersen, D.L. The Roles of Israel's Prophets JSOT
Sup. Series 17 (Sheffield 1981), pp.35ff.
Holstein, J. 'The case of יְהוָה עֵלֹהִים Reconsidered:
Philological Analysis versus Historical Reconstruction'
HUCA 48 (1977) 69-81.
Hallevy, R. 'Man of God' JNES 17 (1958) 237-244.
29. cf. Kraus, Worship, pp.183ff.
30. As we will argue in the second part of our study, Josiah is almost a perfect recreation of the Davidic model of kingship thus making him a royal model of favour surpassed only by David, cf. below. pp. 275ff.
31. We are inclined to treat vs. 2a as a threat against the priesthood of Bethel rather than a threat against the altar.
32. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 239.
33. For a discussion of the term מִצֵּי־חַיִּים in the Old Testament,
cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, pp.813-814;
Anderson, B.W. 'Signs and Wonders' in IDB Vol. 4,
12th ed. (Nashville 1981), pp.348-351.
34. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 326.
35. cf. above, pp. 64ff.

36. cf. the discussion,
of C. D. Evans on the relationship between
the state of the national cult and national
disaster as this is reflected in the Biblical
tradition and Mesopotamia, 'Naram-Sin and
Jeroboam: The Archetypal Unheilsherrscher in
Mesopotamia and Biblical Historiography'
Scripture in Context, ed. W. Hallo, J. Myer
L. Perdue (Indiana, 1983), p.97ff.
37. cf. Fohrer, G. History of Israelite Religion, Trans.
David Green, (London 1973) pp.40ff, 58,114.
38. cf. Ps.43:3ff where 'God' and 'Altar' can be used
"almost synonymously."
Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 154.
39. cf. above, pp. (124-126, 145-147).
40. On the introduction of the name,
cf. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p. 70.
41. cf. Hayes and Miller, Israelite and Judaeen History,
p.434.
42. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, pp.204ff;
Kraus, Worship, pp.93ff.
43. For a discussion of the problems relating to human
sacrifice in Israel,
cf. Eissfeldt, O. Molk als Opferbegriff im Punischen
und Hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch
(Halle 1935).
Bea, A. 'Kinderopfer für Moloch oder Jahwe?' Bibl.18
(1937) 95-107.
Eichrodt, W. Theology of the Old Testament, Vol.I,
pp.148ff.
44. cf. the view of Fohrer that the herem constitutes a
"setting apart for Yahweh," which he claims, is
a development on the old understanding of herem
as a 'curse' upon the enemy. Israelite Religion,
p. 99.

also, von Rad, Theology Vol.1, p. 17, who interprets the herem as "The assignment of the spoil to Yahweh." See also his Der heilige Krieg im Alten Israel (Zurich 1951), pp.25ff.

45. cf. Pedersen, Israel III-IV, p. 236; Carlson, David, p.109.
46. Wellhausen, Composition, pp.254ff; .
Caird, G. B. The First and Second Books of Samuel IB (Nashville 1953), Vol. 2, ff, pp. 855-1041.
47. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, pp.286-287.
48. cf. Veijola, Die Ewige Dynastie, pp.72ff.
49. cf. McCarthy, D.J. 'II Sam.7 and the structure of the Deuteronomic History' JBL 84 (1965) 131-138.
50. *ibid.*
51. Rost, The Succession, p. 47.
52. Mettinger, King and Messiah, pp.60ff; also, Fohrer, Israelite Religion, p. 131.
53. For a discussion of the many traditions that came to be attached to David, as well as the possible ways in which this was achieved, cf. Carlson, David, pp.41ff.
54. With Rost, The Succession, p. 47; Veijola, Die Ewige Dynastie, pp.78ff.
55. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p. 53.
56. *ibid.*
57. cf. Rost, The Succession, p. 42.
58. cf. above, pp. 135-137.
59. We can also compare the solution offered in I Chron.17:11 where the בְּרֵכִי is qualified by the words בְּנֵי יְהוָה אֶחָד (one of your own sons).
60. For a more detailed discussion of this point, cf. below, pp. 203-206.
61. cf. Jenni, E. 'Das Wort 'ôlām in Alten Testament' ZAW 64 (1952) 222-248, for a discussion on the use of this term in the Old Testament.
On the use of the term in II Sam.7.

cf. Tsevat, M. 'The House of David in Nathan's Prophecy'
Bibl 46 (1965) 353-356;

Veijola, Die Ewige Dynastie, pp.72ff.

62. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol. I, pp.317ff, 341ff.

63. This point holds true, even if we accept the theory
 that the promise developed from its application to
 one descendant, i.e. Solomon, to include all of David's
 descendants, i.e. all the latter kings of Judah,

cf. Mowinckel, He that Cometh, (Oxford 1956), p.117.

64. cf. Carlson, David, p. 123.

65. cf. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p. 55.

66. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I. pp.316, 351ff;

Mowinckel, He that Cometh, pp.116ff.

67. cf. the comment of Carlson that the content of II Sam.7
 "served as an ideological motivation for the continued
 existence of the Davidic house," David, p.124.

68. cf. Pfeiffer, Introduction, pp.368ff.

69. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, p. 341.

70. cf. Ackroyd, P.R. 'The Succession Narrative'(so-called)
INT 35 (1981) 383-396.

71. cf. above pp. 88ff.

72. cf. above pp. 88ff.

73. On the significance of the "Rest" motif in the
 Deuteronomic History,

cf. Roth, W. 'Deuteronomic Rest Theology,' Biblical
 Research 21 (1976) 5-14.

74. cf. below, p. 144.

75. cf. Carlson, David, pp.113ff.

76. cf. Campbell, The Ark Narrative, p.133.

77. Gese, H. 'Die Davidsbund und die Zion Erwählung' Zth.K 6
 (1964) 10-26.

78. cf. Carlson, David, p.111.

79. cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth, p. 242;
Noth, The Laws in the Pentateuch, p. 257.
80. Ahlstrom, Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion,
p. 43.
also, May, H.H. 'Some Aspects of Solar Worship in
Jerusalem' ZAW 53 (1937) 269-281.
Albright, W. Archaeology and the Religion of Israel
5th ed. (Baltimore 1969), p. 155.
Pedersen, Israel III & IV, p. 243.
81. cf. Ginsberg, H. L. 'Ugaritic Myths, Epics and Legends'
in The Ancient Near East: An Anthology of Texts
and Pictures 2 Vols. ed. J. B. Pritchard (Princeton
1958) Vol.1 pp.93ff.
82. Willesen, F. 'The Cultic Situation of Ps.74' VT 2 (1952)
289-306.
83. cf. the comment of Dietrich, W. "Natürlich bietet es
sich an, hier den angestammt Jahweglauben gegen
die drohende Kanaanische überfremdung protestieren
zu sehen."
'David in Überlieferung und Geschichte' Zur Wissen-
schaft vom Alten Testament ed. W. Schmidt, Heft 1
(1977) 44-64.
cf. also, Soggin, A. 'Der offiziell geforderte Synkret-
ismus in Israel während des 10. Jahrhunderts'
ZAW 78 (1966). 179-204.
Weiser, A., 'Die Tempelbaukrise unter Davids' ZAW 77 (1956) 153-168.
Cross, Canaanite Myth, p.243.
84. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 285.
85. On the relationship between לַיהוָה and לַיהוָה ,
cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth p. 245.
86. It is possible that the idea of Yahweh's freedom was
partly responsible for the movement of the Ark around
the various shrines in Israel,
cf. Dus, J. SVT 15 (1966) 113-121.

87. cf. Kraus, Worship, p. 182.
88. cf. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p. 53.
89. cf. Mowinckel, He That Cometh, pp.220-229.
90. cf. Yeivin, S. 'Social, Religious and Cultural Trends in Jerusalem under the Davidic Dynasty' VT 3 (1953) 150-166.
91. cf. above, p.144.
92. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel p. 287;
Mettinger, King & Messiah, p. 53;
Rost, The Succession, p. 42. But for argument to the contrary,
cf. Gese, ZThK 6 (1964) pp.10ff.
93. cf. Poulssen, König und Tempel, pp.43ff, 118ff.
94. cf. McCarthy, JBL 84 (1965) p. 135.
95. cf. von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, pp.37ff;
Carlson, David, p. 110.
96. cf. above, pp. 83ff.
97. cf. Carlson, David, p. 110.
98. cf. Kraus, Worship, p. 187.
99. cf. Clements, R. E. Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem JSOT Sup. Series 13, (Sheffield 1980), pp. 72-89.
100. cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, pp.129-130.
101. cf. McKenzie, R.A.F. 'Job' Jerome Biblical Commentary, Vol. 1, p. 514.
102. cf. Kraus, Worship, pp.189ff.
103. cf. Mettinger, King and Messiah, pp.48ff.
104. cf. Weiser, VT 16 (1966) 325-354.
105. We can compare a similar argument put forward by Clements in his discussion of the 'Inviolability of Zion' tradition in which he claims that this tradition stemmed from Jerusalem's escape from Assyrian destruction in 701 B.C. Given the extremely close relationship between city and

dynasty, one can safely claim that Jerusalem's survival also meant the survival of the Davidic dynasty, and so the idea of the inviolability of the city could be readily transferred to the Davidic dynasty in the form of a divine promise that the house of David will last forever.

cf. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, pp. 84ff.

106. On the use of Incense in Israel,

cf. Haran, M. 'The Use of Incense in Ancient Israelite Ritual', VT 10 (1960) 113-129.

107. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 91.

108. cf. above, pp. 79-81.

109. For a discussion of the sin-offering,

cf. Schötz, D. Schuld und Sündopfer im Alten Testament (1930).

110. The relationship between I Kings 13:3,5 and Lev.4:12, as it has been set out here, does not necessarily mean that the latter predates the former, but rather that the two may be based on the same understanding of sin and the sin offering.

111. cf. Sarna, N.M. Understanding Genesis: The Heritage of Biblical Israel, (New York, 1976) pp.28ff.

also, Long, B.O. 'A Darkness between Brothers: Solomon and Ahijah' JSOT 19 (1981) 79-49.

112. On this type of relationship between king and prophet,

cf. Petersen, Israel's Prophets, pp. 51ff.

Wilson, R.R. 'Early Israelite Prophecy' Int 32 (1978) 3-16.

113. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 287.

114. This is an important aspect of the "Thanksgiving Psalms" e.g. Pss. 30, 34.

cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 180.

Westermann, C. Praise of God in the Psalms
Trans. K. R. Crim, (London, 1961).

115. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p.66.
116. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, pp. 210ff.
117. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 99.
118. cf. Hertsberg, I & II Samuel, p. 283;
Smith, Samuel, pp.303-304.
119. This point holds true whether we read "Egypt" with LXX or omit it with MT.
120. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, pp.121ff.
121. The term 'Independent' as used here, refers to those prophets who stood outside of the professional prophetic guilds that were often attached to the court. Elijah, Elisha, and the classical prophets would fall within this category.
122. cf. Petersen, Israel's Prophets, p. 84; also,
123. Apart from explaining the name "Gehazi", the narrative seems to indicate what is the proper behaviour for a prophet of Yahweh in carrying out his duties. This includes the refusal of reward for prophetic duties.
124. cf. Burney, Kings, p. 181:
Gray, I & II Kings, p. 327.
125. This is the term used by Veijola to describe the Davidic dynasty.
126. cf. Gese, ZthK 6 (1964) 10-26.
127. cf. I Kings 22, Jer.28, 36.
128. cf. Rost, The Succession, pp.35ff.
129. Even if we admit that vss.18-29 as they now stand contain redactional material which is much later than most of the earlier part of the chapter, those who had the task of giving the chapter its final shape created some very strong links between David's prayer and the content of vss.1-17. The prayer suggests David's total submission to the divine will about the building of the temple.

CHAPTER 4

Stage IV : The 'Rounding off' of the two Royal Models :
I Kings 14; II Sam.9-20; I Kings 1-2/II Sam.24.

1. A short note on the extent of the Davidic material, and implications for its comparison with the Jeroboam material

In our analysis of the last two stages of the development of the two royal models of disfavour and favour, our task was made easier by having in each stage, the material of each model compressed within one chapter. In this stage the Jeroboam material maintains this pattern, while the Davidic material, as in SDR, extends over several chapters. In spite of the disparity, the content of the two blocks of material still allows for the type of comparison and analysis that have been employed in the previous stages.

Using the three basic concerns that we have isolated so far in the David and Jeroboam material, the material of the present stage in terms of content can be set out as follows:

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty :

<u>Jeroboam</u> (North)	or	<u>Davidic</u> (South).
I Kings 14:8, 10-14.		II Sam.(9-10); 11:1-15:23, 30-37; 16:1-20:26; I Kings, 1-2.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence:

The Bulls of Dan and Bethel	or	The Ark of Jerusalem.
I Kings 14:9		II Sam.15:24-29.

C. The place of the legitimate
Yahweh cult.

The North : Bethel and Dan	or	The South : Jerusalem II Sam.24.
I Kings 14:15-16		

The Davidic material selected for this stage is that which is pertinent to the 'Rounding off' of the Davidic model. It consists of most of the material beyond II Sam.7, and in spite of its extensive nature, compares well in terms of content, and basic concerns, with I Kings 14.

2. The Delimitation of the Units

(a) I Kings 14:1-20

I Kings 14:1-20 concludes the story of Jeroboam I. It is normally divided into two sections, vss.1-18, and vss.19-20. The first section deals with the sickness of Jeroboam's child and Ahijah's threat against his dynasty and Israel, while vss.19-20 can be treated as a concluding formula to the reign of Jeroboam.¹ Gray links vss.19-20 to vss.21-24,² whereas Noth places them within the larger unit of I Kgs 14:19-16:34.³ Rehm on the other hand, seems to treat 14:1-20 as a unit, giving it the general title "Das kranke Kind Jerobeams". He recognizes the role of vss.19-20 as a concluding formula (Schlüssformel) without attempting to remove it from its relationship to vss.1-18.⁴

There is much to be said for the position of Rehm. In terms of content, it can hardly be denied that vss.19-20 are firmly linked to the preceding material, vss.1-18.

Indeed they seem to have a more natural affinity to the Jeroboam story that began in I Kings 11:26, than they do to that of the kings of Israel and Judah that follows in vss.21ff. We shall therefore be treating 14:1-20 as a unit within the wider story of Jeroboam.

(b) II Sam.9-20; I Kgs. 1-2/II Sam.24 (21-23)

(i) II Sam.9-20; I Kgs. 1-2

The theory that II Sam.9-20; I Kgs. 1-2 constitute a coherent unit can be traced back to the last century. It was Wellhausen who argued that this block of material was composed by a single author.⁵ The theory of Wellhausen received some of its strongest support in the work of Rost. His understanding of the unity of the material is summed up in his claim that :

...the whole complex of II Sam.9-20 and I Kgs 1 and 2 normally designated the "Family story" or "Succession story" is...closely interwoven as regards to content.⁶

A considerable number of other scholars defend the unity of the so-called "Succession story/narrative".⁷

Objections to the view that the Succession story constitute a literary unit were raised early in this century by Gressmann⁸ and Caspari.⁹ These two scholars argue for a number of independent units within the Succession story, identifying two of these as a "Amnon-Tamar novelle" and an "Absalom novelle". In more recent times several other scholars have raised similar questions about the unity and the extent of the Succession story.¹⁰ Most of these questions

are concerned with how far II Sam.9 and I Kgs. 2 constitute the beginning and end respectively, of a well defined unit. Gunn, for example, rejects the theory that II Sam.9 constitutes the beginning of the Succession story, claiming that most of chs. 2 - 4 and 5:1-3 should probably be included.¹¹ Ridout on the other hand argues for the inclusion of II Sam.7 with the exception of vss.12b-13a, 16.¹²

The arguments against linking II Sam.7 with ch.9ff. have not been slow in coming. Gunn has drawn attention to the difference in character that separates the two blocks of material. According to him, whereas II Sam.7 is "ideologically obvious and tediously repetitive", chs. 9-20 constitute a "subtle story told in a compelling manner";¹³ others have pointed to the difference in literary style, the "turgid verbosity" of ch.7 being contrasted with the "superb narrative prose" of chs. 9-20.¹⁴

Gunn and Caird are correct in their rejection of II Sam.7 as a part of the Succession story. The chapter obviously belongs to another level of the Davidic tradition although it maintains some links with the material in chs.9 ff.¹⁵ But the same can be said of II Sam.2-4 and 5:1-3 which Gunn would include in the Succession story. This material from the early part of II Sam. is concerned with the establishment of Davidic power and control over Israel rather than with the transmission and continuation of the Davidic dynasty. Given that the latter seems to be the primary concern of the bulk of the material in II Sam.9-20; I Kgs. 1-2 one is inclined to treat II Sam.2-4 as well as 5:1-3 and II Sam.7 as not belonging to the group of traditions that begin in ch.9.

Turning to the end of the Succession story, it is widely agreed that this is to be found within I Kgs. 1-2.¹⁶ Hölscher has however extended the story to I Kings 3:4a, 16-18, and 12:1, 3b-14, 18-19.¹⁷ Mowinckel would remove I Kgs. 1-2, treating these chapters as the beginning of the Solomon saga.¹⁸ Schulte has criticized this view, arguing for maintaining I Kgs. 1-2 as a part of the Succession story.¹⁹ But whereas Rost claims that the story comes to a definite conclusion in I Kgs. 2:46,²⁰ other scholars have sought conclusions elsewhere within I Kgs. 1-2. Noth treats 1.49-53 as the conclusion of the work,²¹ while Mettinger cites 1:1-40; 2:5-9, 12, as a conclusion, excluding the other material within the two chapters as secondary.²²

In spite of the tensions within I Kgs. 1-2, which raise some problems in terms of its relationship to II Sam. 9-20,²³ the first two chapters of Kings are linked, at least in terms of content, to the material in II Sam. 9-20. The concluding formula of I Kgs. 2:46b can be regarded as a conclusion to the Succession story as pointed out by Gray.²⁴ The position of Gray is to be preferred to that of Montgomery/Gehman who treat vs. 46b as the beginning of the Solomonic material.²⁵ In our analysis, we shall be treating vs. 46b as the conclusion of the Succession story, the beginning of which is to be found in II Sam. 9:1.

(ii) I Sam. 24 (21-23)

II Sam. 24:1-25 appears to be a self-contained literary unit. Some scholars have been inclined to link it with II Sam. 21.²⁶ Although these links do exist, it seems as if ch. 24 as it now stands can function as a story independent

of chs.21-23. We may note however that all four chapters seem to be built around the theme of David's rescue from some great threatening disaster. Ch.24 is however primarily concerned with David's purchase of the threshing floor of Araunah, the site of the future temple.²⁷

We shall be treating ch.24 as a literary unit, but not as one which stands isolated from the material that precedes it. Like other sections of the Davidic material discussed in this chapter, the material of ch.24 helps to maintain David as a model of favour. But these links with the rest of the Davidic material does not in any way impair the literary unity of the chapter.

3. More Threats and Reaffirmations

In our analysis of the last two stages of the development of the royal models, we demonstrated how the accusations of I Kings 12: 26-33 lead to the threats of I Kings 13, and the affirmations of II Sam.6 become the reaffirmations of II Sam.7. When we move to this final stage of the development of the models, these trends reappear and play a crucial role in the rounding off of the models.

In the Jeroboam material (I Kings 14), there is now a strong combination of accusation (vs.9) and threat (vss.10ff). Ch.14 can be viewed as a summary of the accusation of 12:26-33 (cf.vss. 8b-9), and an expansion as well as an intensification of the threats of 13:2ff. The destruction of Jeroboam's dynasty as well as the destruction of the nation are cited as the sure consequences of Jeroboam's sin. The sin - threat (disaster) relationship is now applied with vigour to the questions relating to the survival of Jeroboam's dynasty and his kingdom. The

relationship becomes the basis for the interpretation of history.

Undoubtedly this interpretation and understanding of history is also at work in the Davidic material of this stage. The model of favour like the model of disfavour continues to wrestle with the contrasting features of the national experience. This is achieved in this stage of the model of favour through the introduction of an element of threat into the Davidic material. But throughout the material of this stage, the threat is carefully balanced by a repeat of the reaffirmations of the previous stages.

The overall result of this structure is the maintenance of David as a model of favour. The model is now readjusted to rule out any perfectionist understanding of the model which could place it beyond the harsh historical experiences with all their contradictions. David in whom is invested the hope of the eternal dynasty now becomes the David prone to sin. But hope beyond the consequences of sin functions in this stage as the important element which maintains David as the representative of the model of favour.

This means that Jeroboam and David continue to represent the negative and the positive sides of the same presuppositions. In other words, in spite of the introduction of an element of disfavour into the Davidic material, he continues to be the royal model of favour and Jeroboam the model of disfavour.

It is against this background that we now venture to set out the relationship between the two blocks of material. We do so using our three major themes, 'Israel's legitimate dynasty', 'the legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence', and 'the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult.'

The Davidic material falling under the first theme will be divided into a number of units. Our analysis will begin with chs. 11-12. The threats and reaffirmations of the Jeroboam and Davidic material of the last stage will first be stated in order to give an indication of new developments in the present stage.

<u>Threat</u> I Kgs.13	<u>Accusation/Threat</u> ch.14	<u>Reaffirmation</u> II Sam.7	<u>Threat/Reaffirmation</u> II Sam.(9-10), 11-20; I Kgs 1-2; II Sam.24.
<u>A. Israel's legitimate dynasty</u>			
<u>Dynasty</u>	The house of Jeroboam will be cut off and destroyed from the face of the earth. (vs.34)	The house of David will be established forever (vss.16,29)	<u>Unit I</u> (chs.11-12) <u>Threat</u> The sword will never depart from David's house. (12:10). Yahweh will raise up evil against David out of his own house He will take David's wives and give them to his neighbour David's neighbour will lie with them in the sight of the sun <u>Reaffirmation</u> David will not die (v.13) He is given a son (vs.24)
	Yahweh will : bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam cut off from Jeroboam every male, both bond and free utterly consume the house of Jeroboam cause anyone belonging to Jeroboam who dies in the city to be eaten by dogs, and anyone who dies in the open country to be eaten by the birds (vss.10-11) raise up a king over Israel who will cut off the house of Jeroboam	<u>Unit II</u> (chs.13-14) <u>Threat</u> The house of David will be established forever (vss.16,29)	
			<u>Threat</u> Absalom kills Amnon, David's heir (13:29)

Threat
I Kgs.13

Accusation/
Threat
ch.14

Reaffir-
mation
II Sam.7

Threat/Reaffirmation
II Sam.(9-10), 11-20;
I Kgs 1-2; II Sam.24

(A)

Dynasty

The house of
David will be
established
forever
(vss. 16,29)

Unit II cont'd

Absalom the new heir
goes into voluntary
exile (13:37-38)

Reaffirmation

Through the instigation
of Joab, Absalom is
reconciled to David and
restored to his right-
ful place as heir.(ch.14)

Unit III
(chs.15-20)

Threat

Absalom leads a revolt
against David who is
forced to flee Jerusalem
(ch.15f)

Sheba leads a revolt of
the northern tribes
against David. (ch.20)

Reaffirmation

The revolt of Absalom is
put down, and David is
restored to power
(20:3ff)

Threat
I Kgs.13

Accusation/
Threat
ch.14

Reaffir-
mation
II Sam.7

Threat/Reaffirmation
II Sam.(9-10), 11-20;
I Kgs 1-2; II Sam.24

(A)
Dynasty

Unit III cont'd

Sheba is killed and the northern tribes remain faithful (vs.22)

The house of David
will be established
forever.
(vss.16,29)

Unit IV

Threat

David is very old and has not appointed his heir (I Kgs.1f)

There is a power struggle within the royal household (I Kgs.1:5f)

Reaffirmation

David appoints Solomon as his heir, and the continuation of the Davidic line is ensured (I Kgs 1:32ff)

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Accusation

The Ark is the ancient legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (vss.1-7)

Threat

The Ark is in danger of being taken away from Jerusalem its legitimate resting place, reversing the position of II Sam.6 and 7 (ch.15:24)

The repre- The altar at Bethel
sentation (with its Bull
of Yahweh's images) will be
power and desecrated and torn
presence down (vss.1-3)

Jeroboam has done evil above all that were before him

He has made for himself other gods and molten images

He has provoked Yahweh to anger

He has cast Yahweh behind his back (vs.9)

Threat
I Kgs.13

Accusation/
Threat
ch.14

Reaffir-
mation
II Sam.7

Threat/Reaffirmation
II Sam.(9-10), 11-20;
I Kgs 1-2; II Sam.24

Unit IV cont'd

Reaffirmation

The Ark is sent back to Jerusalem and is not exposed to the dangers and uncertainties facing David and his entourage on the run from Absalom (vs.29)

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

The non-Levitical priesthood of Bethel will be destroyed, sacrificed by a legitimate priest-king, i.e. the illegitimate shrine will be deprived of its cultic personnel (vs.2)

All Israel will go into exile because of the "sin of Jeroboam which he made Israel to sin" i.e. because of the rejection of the legitimate Yahweh cult at Jerusalem for the illegitimate cult at Bethel (and Dan), Bethel will be deprived of its worshipping community, as well as its cultic personnel, its priests (vss.14-15)

The cult of Jerusalem will be strengthened by the building of a temple to house the Ark (Yahweh) (vss.12-13)

Threat

Jerusalem is threatened by pestilence and is about to be destroyed by the angel of Yahweh (vss.15-16a)

Reaffirmation

The city is spared from destruction (vs.16b)

David buys the threshing floor of Araunah, the site of the future temple and builds an altar to Yahweh (vss.18ff).

From the above outline, we can see how the Davidic material in each unit always ends with a reaffirmation. Through this presentation of the material, David is sustained as a model of divine favour. The reaffirmation always seems to 'cancel out' the element of disfavour (threat). With Jeroboam there is no such cancelling out. The "Accusations" and "Threats" of the last two stages return in an even stronger form so that the reader is not allowed to forget that Jeroboam is the model of divine disfavour. We shall now examine in more detail the general areas outlined above.

(a) I Kings 14

The intensification of the "Accusations" and the "Threats" against Jeroboam and the northern cult that occurs in this final stage can best be appreciated by having them stated in relationship to those that occur in the previous two stages. We shall therefore follow this method in our analysis of ch.14.

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

<u>Accusation:</u>	: Jeroboam is a usurper ruling over a legitimate part of the Davidic Kingdom (12:26-27)
<u>Threat</u>	: The house of Jeroboam will be cut off and destroyed from the face of the earth (13:34)
<u>Threat : First element</u>	: Yahweh will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam (14:10)
<u>Second Element</u>	: Yahweh will cut off from Jeroboam every male, both bond and free (14:10)
<u>Third Element</u>	: Yahweh will utterly consume the house of Jeroboam (14:10)
<u>Fourth Element</u>	: Yahweh will cause any one belonging to Jeroboam who dies in the city to be eaten by dogs and any one who dies in the open country to be eaten by the birds (14:10)

Fifth Element

: Yahweh will raise up a king over
Israel who will cut off the house of
Jeroboam (14:14)

The threat against the house of Jeroboam in 14:10, is preceded by a statement of Yahweh's goodness (vs.8) and Jeroboam's ingratitude (vs.9). This movement from divine goodness to human ingratitude to divine threat (judgement), can also be found in sections of the prophetic literature (cf. Amos 2:9-16). We shall be dealing with vs.9 in our next section,²⁸ but we need to address ourselves to the motif of divine goodness which functions here as a context for the divine threat.

Yahweh's goodness to Jeroboam is expressed in terms of election. The narrator is obviously linking the present material with that relating Jeroboam's designation by Ahijah (11:30ff).²⁹ Once again there are some close parallels with the Davidic promise, indicating how similar election motifs can be used for both kings (cf. I Kgs 14:7-8 and II Sam.12:7b-8).³⁰

But Jeroboam's failings are contrasted not only with the goodness of Yahweh, but also with that of David (vs.8b). The verse which gives a very idealistic picture of David, not unlike that of SDR, reads :

וְלֹא-הָיָה קֶצֶדִי וְדָם אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַר מִצֻּרֹתַי וְאֲשֶׁר-הָלַף
אֶחָדִי בְּכַל-לִבִּי לַעֲשׂוֹת רָק הִנֵּשָׁר בְּעֵינָי

Wurthwein treats this verse as a Deuteronomic insertion that serves to intensify the threat against Jeroboam.³¹ It probably functions here not simply as a simple comparison between David and Jeroboam, but also as a sharp contrast between

the two dynasties which they represent.

This fact seems to be borne out by the claim that Yahweh tore (**וַיִּשְׁלַח**) the kingdom **מִבֵּית דָּוִד** and gave it (**וַיִּתֵּן**) to Jeroboam.³² Do we have here a subtle reminder that the kingdom rightly belongs to David? Vs.8a seems to suggest that Jeroboam's kingdom is simply the kingdom of David that was entrusted to him. Vs.8b declares that Jeroboam has betrayed this trust, falling far short of the one who is the legitimate ruler of all Israel, and must, as a consequence, forfeit his right to rule. The threats of vss.10 and 14, give us the details of the consequence.

The first element of the threat is somewhat general in scope :

33
לִכְן הִנְנִי מְבִיא רָעָה אֶל-בֵּית דָּוִד

The narrator employs the hiphil participle **מְבִיא** to emphasize the intensity of the threat against the house of Jeroboam. It occurs in a phrase **מְבִיא רָעָה** which is to be found elsewhere in Samuel-Kings (cf. II Sam.17:14; I Kings.21:21, 29; II Kgs. 21:12; 22:16) and is widespread in Jeremiah (cf. Jer.4:16; 6:9, passim). The term contains two concepts which are important for grasping the nature of the threat against the house of Jeroboam. One is the 'cause and effect' relationship between sin and divine judgement, the other is the conviction that Yahweh is responsible for both good and evil.³⁴ On the basis of the second concept, the good, which is the gift to Jeroboam of part of the Davidic kingdom, can be contrasted with the evil which is about to fall upon the house of Jeroboam.

The second element expands the **רָעָה** motif

introduced in the first :

וְהִכָּרְתִּי לְיָרֵבְעָם מִשְׁתֵּין בְּקִיר עֲצֹר וְעֹזֹב
בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל

The phrase is a direct threat against Jeroboam's male descendants, and consequently a threat against the continuation of his dynasty. The language employed by the narrator is very graphic, reaching its peak in the term *מִשְׁתֵּין בְּקִיר* (lit. he that pisses against the wall).³⁵ We may note once more the use of the hiphil (*וְהִכָּרְתִּי*) to describe the divine threat.

There has been much discussion on the interpretation of the term *עֲצֹר וְעֹזֹב*. *עֲצֹר* is the qal participle of the verb *עָצַר*. In the qal stem, *עָצַר* is normally rendered, 'to shut up', 'hold back', 'restrain', 'detain', 'retain strength' and 'to rule'.³⁶ *עֹזֹב*, on the other hand, is the qal passive participle of *עָזַב*, which in the qal is usually translated 'to leave, forsake' but can also mean 'to set free or loose' (cf. Ex. 23:5).³⁷ These translations of the two verbs are reflected in Burney's rendering of

עֲצֹר וְעֹזֹב as "restrained and let loose".³⁸ He admits however that the "precise application of the phrase is obscure",³⁹ an opinion that finds some support in Noth, who claims that the phrase is probably a "stereotyped" expressionthe meaning of which we can no longer determine conclusively.⁴⁰

Not all scholars are as sceptical as Noth. On the basis of the usage of *עָצַר* in I Sam. 9:17 and 21:7, Seebass seeks the meaning of *עֲצֹר וְעֹזֹב* within the context of military language. He suggests that *עֲצֹר* should be interpreted to mean the ones who have been accepted into the army of Yahweh, while *עֹזֹב* refers to those who are left behind.⁴¹

He however goes on to point out that בְּיָזָן unlike בְּיָצָן , is not used in the context of Yahweh (Holy) war (im umkreis des Jahwehkrieges).⁴² The threat contained in the phrase, Seebass argues, denotes not simply that the people will be leaderless, but that Jeroboam's house will not provide any 'distinguished representation' (namhafte Vertretung) in the war of Yahweh.⁴³ Seebass' interpretation depends heavily on how far one accepts his military interpretation. The military motif is not at once obvious in 14:10, which leads one to seek other interpretations of בְּיָזָן בְּיָצָן .

Comparing I Kings 14:10 with 21:21 and II Kings 9:8, Kutsch claims that בְּיָזָן בְּיָצָן should be interpreted to mean the complete destruction of Jeroboam's family. Used in conjunction with בְּיָזָן בְּיָצָן , the phrase encompasses all male members of Jeroboam's family, those under parental restraint (בְּיָצָן) and those free from it (בְּיָזָן).⁴⁴ That the phrase is used in association with בְּיָזָן בְּיָצָן suggests for Kutsch possible legal usage.⁴⁵ But as Gray has pointed out, this suggestion does not account for the way in which the phrase is used in Deut. 32:36, and II Kings 14:26.⁴⁶

Of the other interpretations, we may note that of Montgomery "In private and unrestrained...distinguishing between the gentleman and the boor in the street";⁴⁷ Lewy : "Unborn (shut up in the womb) and born";⁴⁸ Schwally : "Under ritual taboo and ritually free";⁴⁹ and Saydon : "Helpless and abandoned or destitute".⁵⁰

Rehm has pointed out that all the suggested interpretations of בְּיָזָן בְּיָצָן indicate that the two 'contrary' (gegensätzliche) ideas contained in the phrase denote 'wholeness' (Gesamtheit).⁵¹ Würthwein, in a similar vein,

suggests that the punishment to be meted out will embrace Jeroboam as well given the close relationship between a man and his family even beyond death.⁵² There is therefore an element of finality as well as one of totality contained in the phrase. The divine judgement against the house of Jeroboam will be absolutely comprehensive and without any escape for those who have the greatest potential to continue the dynasty, i.e. the male progeny.

The 'totality' and the 'comprehensiveness' of the divine judgement against the house of Jeroboam is reflected to an even higher degree in the third element of the threat. It reads :

וּבְעָרְתִּי אֶחְרֵי בֵית-יִרְבֶּעֶם קֶאֱשֶׁר ? בָּעַר
נִלְלָל עַד-תָּמוּ

The idea is powerfully introduced into the phrase through the use of the piel of בָּעַרְתִּי, בָּעַר. This immediately sets the tone for this element of the threat.

A comparison of a few translations of the above phrase can be of some help in illustrating how it embodies the power of the previous element as well as intensifies it :

<u>RSV</u>	<u>Gray</u>	<u>Noth</u>	<u>Rehm</u>
and I will utterly consume the house of Jeroboam as a man burns dung until it is all gone.	and I shall make an utter riddance of what is left of the house of Jeroboam as one clears away dung. 53	und will hinter dem hause Jerobeams her ausfeigen wie man den Kot ausfeigt bis er vollig verschwunden ist. 54	Ich werde das haus Jerobeams wegfeigen wie man Kot wischaft bis er ganz verschwunden ist 55

The intensity that is contained in each translation revolves around the rendering of וּבְעָרְתִּי. Whereas the translation of the RSV "utterly consume" implies total and absolute destruction

based undoubtedly on the imagery of fire contained in וּבְעָרָתִי⁵⁶ that of Gray, "make an utter riddance", introduces the idea of Yahweh's abhorrence of Jeroboam's house.

The German translations add a new dimension to the discussion. Noth's rendering of וּבְעָרָתִי by ausfegen (to sweep out) as well as Rehm's use of wegfegen (to sweep away), suggests the removal and the rejection of what is abhorrent to Yahweh. This seems to be the sense in which בָּעַר is used in II Kings 23:24 as well where Josiah is said to put away (בָּעַר) elements of the Canaanite fertility cult from Judah.⁵⁷

But if בָּעַר can also mean "to drive beasts to pasture" or "to drive away" as suggested by Gray,⁵⁸ then

וּבְעָרָתִי אֲחֵרִי may contain a veiled reference to the exile of the northern kingdom. This possibility becomes even stronger if אֲחֵרִי is taken to be a noun that can be rendered "last descendants".⁵⁹ Given this possibility, the

אֲחֵרִי would include not only Jeroboam's descendants in the strictly genealogical sense, but also all those who became a part of his illegitimate cult at Dan and Bethel. The graphic comparison of the divine action (judgement) with the sweeping away (בָּעַר) of dung (גִּלְגָּל) heightens the rejection/destruction motif. It points to the removal of the unclean from before Yahweh.

The fourth element of the threat against the house of Jeroboam, underlines the totality as well as the degrading nature of the divine judgement :

נִמְתָּ לְיִרְבָּעָם בְּעִיר יֹאכָזָבֵד וְנִמְתָּ
בְּשָׂדֶה יֹאכָזָבֵד עוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם כִּי יִהְיֶה דָּבָר

Several scholars have pointed to the formulaic nature of this threat which is also made against Ahab (I Kings 21:24) and Baasha (16:4).⁶⁰ The true significance and power of the threat is closely bound up with the 'scavenger status' of dogs in the Ancient Near East.⁶¹ They are also linked to the great importance attached to a decent burial in the Biblical tradition.⁶² The latter point is reflected in David's burial for the bones of Saul and Jonathan (II Sam.21:13) as well as in the threat of Jeremiah the Jehoiakim will be buried 'with the burial of an ass' (Jer.22:19).

This element of the threat against the house of Jeroboam suggests that the divine judgement will continue beyond death. It will remove the last remnants of decency that can be accorded a person, that of having a decent burial.

The fifth element of the threat links all the elements contained in 14:10 to Baasha's annihilation of Jeroboam's descendants (15:27-30). Once more we encountered the prophecy-fulfilment structure that is fairly widespread in the book of Kings.⁶³ This element of the threat seems to reveal once more the narrator's utter disgust with the cultic policies of Jeroboam. Yahweh's raising up of a king can be contrasted with the king's cutting down of the house of Jeroboam. We can also compare these actions with the tearing and the giving which elevated Jeroboam to kingship (cf.11:30ff; 14:8).

We have at work here in this element of the threat as in SJR and SDR (cf.I Sam.15:28), the idea of divine initiative putting right what has gone desperately wrong. Yahweh intervenes to remove the dynasty of Jeroboam and at the same time this becomes a divine attempt to halt the national slide to disaster initiated by the sin of Jeroboam. Baasha is the divine instrument to be used by Yahweh and seems to be little more than this. The emphasis is on the

putting right rather than on the one who is to be the instrument of the divine action. The action will confer no special status on the one whose task it is to remove the house of Jeroboam (cf. 16:1-4).

Given all that we have said above, we can safely claim at this stage that the threat against the house of Jeroboam contained in I Kings 14:10, 11, 14, intensifies that of 13:34. It declares in the most intense and graphic manner Yahweh's abhorrence as well as his total and absolute rejection of the dynasty of Jeroboam. That which was instituted by Yahweh's initiative, is now to be swept away by his judgement, all because of the sin ($\text{אָפֶּן$) of Jeroboam.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

<u>Accusation</u>	: Jeroboam makes two calves, declares them the god(s) of the Exodus and installs them at Dan and Bethel (12:28-29)
<u>Threat</u>	: The altar at Bethel (with its bull image) will be torn down (13:1-3)
<u>Accusation</u>	
First Element	: Jeroboam has done evil above all that were before him (14:9a)
Second Element	: He has made for himself other gods and molten images (14:9b)
Third Element	: He has provoked Yahweh to anger (14:9c)
Fourth Element	: He has cast Yahweh behind his back (14:9d)

Although the four elements of this accusation are very closely related, each one seems to emphasize a peculiar dimension of Jeroboam's cultic activities. The first element

can be treated as a type of introduction to the more specific accusations of the second element.

The first element is a good example of the narrator's tendency to emphasize the gravity of Jeroboam's sin. This is reflected in the claim that Jeroboam has done more evil than all who were before him. If indeed the reference to those who were before Jeroboam is a reference to previous northern kings, then it is overlooking the fact that Jeroboam is the first northern king. Ellis claims that Jeroboam is being compared to Solomon.⁶⁴ It seems however that the basic concern of the narrator is not the chronology of the northern kings, but the sin of Jeroboam which for him is beyond all comparison.

Jeroboam's sin is unprecedented. The reason for this is contained in the second element of the accusation where we are told that the king created other gods for himself. Jeroboam therefore stands accused of rejecting Yahweh's legitimate and exclusive rights to worship in Israel. He introduces into the worship of his kingdom rivals to Yahweh which cannot be tolerated.

This action on the part of Jeroboam brings about the divine reaction contained in the third element of the accusation. The introduction of rival gods provokes Yahweh to anger. 'Provoking Yahweh to anger' is a widespread motif in the Old Testament.⁶⁵ In the Pentateuch it is invariably linked to the rebellion motif (cf. Num. 11:1, 10; 12:9; Deut. 9:19; 29:24).⁶⁶ Within I Kings 14:19- II Kings 23, it is primarily allegiance to the gods represented by the Canaanite fertility cults which provoke Yahweh to anger.⁶⁷ In other words allegiance to other gods is cited as the act par excellence which provokes Yahweh to anger.

Jeroboam's creation of the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel is interpreted by the narrator as creation of other gods.

It represents not only the acceptance of other gods, but at the same time a total rejection of Yahweh. The latter point is contained in the fourth element of the accusation which accuses Jeroboam of casting Yahweh behind his back.

The phrase 'to cast behind the back' is very rarely used as a synonym for sin in the Old Testament. It occurs in Ezek.23:35 and in Neh.9:26.⁶⁸ In the latter case it is used to describe Israel's rejection of the law. The phrase seems to contain the idea of contempt, which transforms the accusation against Jeroboam into the showing of scant respect for Yahweh, Israel's only God. There is contempt in the Jeroboam - Yahweh relationship, introduced by Jeroboam.

In the light of all we have said above, I Kings 14:9 not only expands but also intensifies the accusation of I Kings 12:28-29. It maintains the basic presupposition behind the accusation which claims that there can be only one legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence, the Ark of the Jerusalem sanctuary. At the same time the reader is reminded of Jeroboam's sinful action is setting up illegitimate representations of Yahweh's power and presence, at Dan and Bethel.

C. The Place of the Legitimate Yahweh Cult

- | | |
|------------|---|
| Accusation | : The northern shrines of Dan and Bethel constitute an illegitimate cult with illegitimate processions, priesthood, sacrifices and feasts (12:30-33). |
| Threat | : The non-Levitical priesthood of Bethel will be destroyed, sacrificed by a legitimate priest - king (13:2). |
| Threat | : Israel will go into exile "because of the sins of Jeroboam which he sinned and...made Israel to sin." i.e., Bethel and Dan will be deprived of their worshipping community as well as their priests (14:15-16). |

The 'cause and effect' relationship between the sin of Jeroboam and the exile of the northern kingdom is treated by several commentators as a product of Deuteronomic redaction.⁶⁹ It should be pointed out however, that this understanding of the relationship between sin and judgement (disaster) is by no means peculiar to the Deuteronomic work. It is fairly widespread in the Old Testament.⁷⁰ What is peculiar about this understanding in the context of our present discussion, is the way in which the sin of Jeroboam is now interpreted as carrying disastrous implications for his entire nation.

This is a very important element which enters the development of the model of disfavour at this stage. It becomes crucial in the development of the model as an interpretation of the national experience. The conquest of the northern kingdom finds its raison d'etre in Jeroboam's establishment of the rival shrines of Dan and Bethel.

The consequences of the sin of Jeroboam will therefore extend beyond the source of the sin, i.e., Dan and Bethel, and will engulf the entire nation. There is a systematic development of the consequences of Jeroboam's sin as we move from the second stage, through the third, to this fourth stage. For whereas in the second stage it leads to the disruption of the people's worship at Yahweh's only legitimate shrine at Jerusalem (I Kings 12:28-30), and in the second stage to the threat against Jeroboam's shrine and his dynasty (13:1-2,34), in this fourth stage it incurs a threat against the entire nation (14:15-16).

The threat of 14:15-16 represents the ultimate consequences of Jeroboam's establishment of the illegitimate shrines of Dan and Bethel. These illegitimate shrines will lose their power with their leaders and adherents dispersed "beyond the Euphrates" (vs.15). Exile becomes the ultimate consequence of the illegitimate cult of the North.

(a) II Sam.9-20; I Kings 1-2; II Sam.24

The three basic affirmations about the Davidic dynasty, the Ark and the Jerusalem cult constitute the context within which we discuss the Davidic material of this stage.⁷¹ This discussion will be taking place against the background of II Sam.6 and 7. Special attention will be paid to the "Threat - Salvation" pattern which emerges in this stage, since this will enable us to detect any readjustments that may be at work in the rounding off of the models. To facilitate this, we shall first set out the affirmations of II Sam.6 and the reaffirmations of II Sam.7, followed by the threats and reaffirmations of each unit.

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

<u>Affirmation</u>	: David who was elected by Yahweh to replace Saul, is the legitimate ruler of all Israel (II Sam.6).
<u>Reaffirmation</u>	: The house of David will be established forever (II Sam.7:16,29).
<u>Threat/Reaffirmation</u>	
Unit I (chs.11-12)	
<u>Threat</u>	
<u>First Element</u>	: The sword will never depart from David's house (I Sam.12:10)
<u>Second Element</u>	: Yahweh will raise up evil against David out of his own house (II Sam.12:11a).
<u>Third Element</u>	: Yahweh will take David's wives and give them to his neighbour (II Sam.12:11b).
<u>Fourth Element</u>	: David's neighbour will lie with them in public (II Sam. 12:11c).
<u>Fifth Element</u>	: The child born to David and Bathsheba will die (II Sam. 12:14).

<u>Reaffirmation</u> <u>First Element</u>	: Yahweh forgives David's sin (12:13b)
<u>Second Element</u>	: David will not die (12:13c)
<u>Third Element</u>	: David expresses great piety by praying and fasting for the sick child, the symbol of his sin (12:16-17)
<u>Fourth Element</u>	: David is given a son to take the place of the child that died, i.e. his house is assured of its continuation (12:24)

The threats that are made against David and his dynasty in this unit must be read against the background of the story of ch.11 and Nathan's parable in 12:1-6.⁷² David's unwitting pronouncement of the death sentence upon himself (vs.5) forms the natural bridge from parable to threat. A reading of the threat found in this unit suggests that it is to be understood as a nullification of the promise in 7:16a, 29. The first element of the threat clearly illustrates this :

II Sam.7:16a

וְיָשָׁב אֶל-בֵּיתוֹ
וְלֹא-יָצֵא מִן-עוֹלָם

II Sam.12:10a

וְעַתָּה לֹא-תִסְוֶה חֶרֶב
מִבֵּיתְךָ צֶדֶד-עוֹלָם

The nullification becomes even more pronounced, if the "preamble" to the threat,⁷³ setting out Yahweh's acts of goodness to David, is contrasted with the threat. Yahweh's five acts of goodness as listed in 7b-8, can be set over against the five acts of judgment (vss.10ff) :

Acts of goodness

Acts of judgement

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. Yahweh anointed David King over Israel. | The sword will never depart from David's house. |
| 2. Yahweh delivered him from the hand of Saul. | Yahweh will raise up evil against David out of his own house. |
| 3. Yahweh gave David his master's wives. | Yahweh will give David's wives to his neighbour. |

Acts of goodnessActs of judgement

- | | |
|--|--|
| 4. Yahweh gave David the house of Israel. | David's neighbour will lie with his (David's) wives... |
| 5. Yahweh would have added much more to David. | The child born to David and Bathsheba will die. |

The list of Yahweh's goodness in vs.7b-8, is indeed a summary of SDR. Through this list, the narrator is able to bring the reader 'up to date' on Yahweh's longstanding relationship with David. This relationship reached its climax in II Sam.7:16,29 where Yahweh promises David an eternal dynasty.

The phrase

וְאִם-כָּל-זֶה לֹא-סָפָה לְךָ כְּהֶנָּה וְכֶהֶנָּה

(vs.8d), describes the openended generosity of the relationship. This point is marvellously captured in Fokkelman's rendering of the phrase by "If all this isn't enough, then David must say so and he will get more".⁷⁴

It is this type of relationship between Yahweh and David that places David's sin (ch.11) and the divine threat (12:10ff) in their true perspective. David's sin becomes a rejection of Yahweh's initiative and goodness and the threat, the inevitable consequence of this rejection. Indeed the threat can be interpreted as Yahweh's rejection of David, with each element highlighting a different aspect of the divine rejection.

The first element introduces a war motif into the threat :

וַיֵּצֵאָהּ לֹא-תִסְוֶה חֶרֶב מִבֵּיתָהּ עַד-עוֹלָם

There is undoubtedly a touch of irony at work here. The חֶרֶב which Nathan identifies as the instrument by which Uriah met his death on David's orders (vs.9a), is now to be the instrument of disaster in David's own house.⁷⁵ But whereas Uriah's death by the sword occurred in a conflict between two

recognized enemies Israel and Ammon (cf.ch.10), the disaster that will come upon David's house will be nothing short of civil war, according to the second element of the threat.

If the first element therefore tells us about the duration of the threat, the second points to the agony that it could possibly produce :

כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה הֶנְנִי מֵקִים עָלֶיךָ
רָצָה מִבְּיָתְךָ

The phrase suggests a situation of chaos that is the complete reversal of the rest (נוֹחַ) from his enemies (אֲדָרְיוֹ) granted to David in II Sam. 7:1. Just as the rest from enemies is an indication of Yahweh's blessings upon David, so the coming evil is an indication of his judgement. The place from which the evil is to come (מִבְּיָתְךָ), is the same place to which David brings Bathsheba after the death of Uriah (11:27). Hence בְּיָתוֹ of 11:27 like מִבְּיָתְךָ of 12:11a, may contain a touch of the double use of בֵּית that is to be found in ch.7. Bathsheba's entry into David's house (household : בֵּית), is therefore a symbol of the entry of disaster into his dynasty (מִלְכוּת). This is brought out by Nathan's listing as part of David's רָצָה, his act of taking Bathsheba to be his wife (11:9).

It is in the third element of the threat that Yahweh's response to David's רָצָה becomes more specific :

וְלָקַחְתִּי אֶת-נָשָׁיְךָ לְעִינֵיךָ וְנָתַתִּי
לְרָעִיךָ

This phrase is the third reference to the giving/taking of wives in the Nathan speech. There is Yahweh giving to David his master's wives (vs.8), David's taking of Uriah's wife (vs.9) and Yahweh taking David's wives and giving them to his neighbour (vs.11b). This element of the threat like the

second is also a reversal of divine action.⁷⁶ David's loss of his harem constitutes the removal of that area of his life that can best ensure the continuation of his house. It is the removal of an aspect of the king's power, that can only be interpreted as a great humiliation. The humiliation is emphasized by the gift of the harem to David's neighbour. This is nothing short of a transfer of an important aspect of power from David to his neighbour.

The fourth element expands on the humiliating aspect of this transfer of power :

וְשָׁכַב עִם-נָשִׁיָּהּ לְעֵינֵי הָעָם הַזֹּאת

The significance of the element of the threat lies in the conducting in public (לְעֵינֵי הָעָם הַזֹּאת) what is reserved for the most secret area of life. Hence there is to be a 'double' exposure for David, relating to his private sexual life. His harem will be abused in public, and this act will draw attention to, as well as be a reminder of, his own secret sexual act with Bathsheba (vs.12).

It is around the product of this sexual act that the fifth threat is built. The death of the child of the David-Bathsheba union, removes a member of David's house and can be interpreted as a weakening of the Davidic dynasty. As in the last element, David is threatened with a loss that directly affects the continuation of his dynasty. The death of the child comes as the consequence of David's role in the death of Uriah (vs.14).

The movement in the narrative from 'Threat' (judgement) to 'Reaffirmation' (salvation) is as dramatic as that from Yahweh's goodness (vs.7b-8) to David's sin (vss.9-10)

to Yahweh's punishment (judgement) of David's sin (vss.10-12, 14). The key to the dramatic transition from threat/judgement to reaffirmation/salvation is David's confession in 12:13a (**וְאָמַרְתִּי לַיהוָה**). The confession is the crucial turning-point in the David-Bathsheba episode (chs.11-12). It marks the beginning of the rebuilding of the Davidic model of favour. As Gunn puts it, the confession "functions powerfully to reinstate him (David) in the reader's estimation".⁷⁷

Of equal importance to the reinstating process is Nathan's pronouncement of Yahweh's forgiveness of David :

**וַיֹּאמֶר נָתָן אֶל-דָּוִד גַּם-יְהוָה
הֶעֱבִיר חַטָּאתָהּ**

Here the dramatic intervention of Yahweh ensures David's movement back to the status of favour. The sharp contrast between Yahweh's goodness and David's sin which dominates the early part of ch.12 now gives way to the recreation of a state of 'mutualism' between Yahweh and David. The 'mutualism' is conveyed through the catchword **חַטָּאת** :

David confesses (regrets) his **חַטָּאת**

חַטָּאת of David forgiven by
Yahweh

The confession - forgiveness structure opens the way for the repeal of the death sentence which David had pronounced on himself (vs.5). It leads to the second element of reaffirmation, contained in Nathan's words, **לֹא תָמוּת** . David's death sentence is "nullified by the judicial authority which is yet higher than the king".⁷⁸ Thus the king who was threatened with death is now offered (new) life. Indeed he is assured of a fresh start in life.

But the narrator is extremely careful not to rush

to the point of full restoration. The reader is taken through a scene in which the narrator shows that David deserves his return to favour with Yahweh. What seems to be at work here is not simply David's return to favour, but the very nature of divine forgiveness. Yahweh forgives those who are truly penitent. David is put through an agonising scene which sets out to convince the reader that David is truly penitent for his sin.

It is highly possible that here David is being projected not only as the desirable model of kingship but also as a model of piety for the nation. The acts of piety credited to David (vss.16-17), are presented as those which can mend a broken relationship with Yahweh. These acts of piety function as our third element of reaffirmation. They reinstate David as a model of favour.

The birth of another child, our fourth element of reaffirmation, is the crowning symbol of David's return to favour. Vss.24-25 reintroduces the sexual motif which has dominated the David-Bathsheba episode.⁷⁹ But whereas David's sexual relationship with Bathsheba at the start of the episode (11:2ff) was illegitimate and led to the death of her husband and the birth of an illegitimate child, in 12:24-25 it leads to the birth of a legitimate child and merits divine approval.

The naming of the child Jedidiah (beloved of the Lord), leaves the reader in no doubt about David's return to divine favour. The one who was placed under the threat of death (12:10), now becomes the source of new life. The birth of Jedidiah which marks David's return to favour, is at the same time a reaffirmation of the special relationship existing between Yahweh and the Davidic dynasty. Out of the chaos created by David's relationship with Bathsheba, emerges a son who constructs the institution which cements the bond between Yahweh and the Davidic dynasty, indeed Yahweh and Israel. The relationship which begins in chaos,

eventually produces the temple builder.

Unit II (chs.13-14)

- Threat : First Element : Amnon, David's firstborn, rapes his half-sister Tamar (13:1-22).
- Second Element : He is killed by Absalom (13:23-29).
- Third Element : Absalom, the new heir, goes into (voluntary) exile (13:37-38).
- Reaffirmation : First Element : Absalom returns from exile (14:1-32).
- Second Element : He is reconciled with David and restored as heir (14:33).

The motif of illegitimate sexual relationships which, as we have seen, is present in the David-Bathsheba episode (chs.11-12) returns in ch.13 through the Amnon-Tamar encounter. Amnon assumes the role played by David in the previous unit and engages in a sexual act that leads to a series of catastrophes.⁸⁰

The first catastrophe, represented by our first element of threat, is the rape of Tamar by Amnon. The 'threat' here is the return of the same sexual forces that led to David's involvement with Bathsheba and the murder of Uriah, and incurred the divine judgement. Once again these forces bring chaos to the house of David, and jeopardize the promise of II Sam.7. That the promise is about to be jeopardized once more is anticipated by placing Amnon, David's firstborn, in a potentially explosive situation at the very start of the unit (cf.13:1-2).

The ensuing verses (3-22) plot the stages of the first catastrophe, of which Amnon is the protagonist. The narrator creates Amnon into a type of villain by creating Tamar into a contrasting model of virtue. We are told that she is beautiful (יְפֵיָא) and is also a virgin (בְּתוּלָה).

The contrast between Amnon and Tamar reaches its climax in vss. 11-14. The new threat to the Davidic house moves to a dangerous level. Amnon David's firstborn and heir ravishes his half sister and eliminates himself from participation in the promised dynasty. At the same time, the ravished Tamar is relegated to a state of perpetual widowhood. She like Amnon is excluded from the promised dynasty. The conflict within the Davidic household constitutes a potent threat to its very survival.

The conflict motif is skilfully picked up in the person of Absalom. It reaches its peak in the murder of Amnon at the hands of Absalom's servants (vs. 29). Absalom's plotting of the murder recalls David's plot against Uriah (11:14ff), and to a lesser extent Amnon's plot to get Tamar to his house (13:3ff). Intrigue is once more at work in the Davidic household, and continues to represent a threat to the promised dynasty.

The murder of Amnon robs the Davidic house of its heir. But the flight and self-imposed exile of Absalom raises the question about the possibility of the new heir taking his rightful place. Indeed it seems as if he has forfeited his claims to the status of Davidic heir. Absalom represents a double threat to the promise. He not only eliminates the rightful heir, but is himself in no position to assume this role.

But just as David returns to favour after the Bathsheba event, so does Absalom after engineering the death of Amnon. There is no report about any acts of penitence, but the reader is led to conclude that Absalom and his father David are fully reconciled (14:33).⁸¹ The threat to the Davidic house is removed, or at least abated. The new heir is restored to his rightful place alongside his father David.

One can hardly overlook the role attributed to David in this unit. He is presented as the loving caring father,⁸² who aligns himself, unwittingly it seems, to each of his children at various points in the narrative. He facilitates Amnon's designs on Tamar by sending her to his house (13:3), he expresses anger and sorrow at the death of Amnon (13:21,36),⁸³ and he loves Absalom deeply and agrees to restore him to favour in spite of his role in the death of Amnon (13:39; 14:21ff).

The compassion of David, the supreme expression of which is his restoration and forgiveness of Absalom, is the favourable dynastic thread that runs through the unit. The narrator seems keen on maintaining this image of David in spite of the chaos being created by his children. He is the hope that keeps the promise of ch.7 alive and neutralizes the threat to the promise created by "chips off the old block".⁸⁴

Unit III (chs.15-20)

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---|
| <u>Threat</u> : <u>First Element</u> | : Absalom presents himself as a better judge than his father David (15:1-6). |
| <u>Second Element</u> | : He declares himself king in Hebron (vs.11). |
| <u>Third Element</u> | : He wins the allegiance of the men of Israel (15:13). |
| <u>Fourth Element</u> | : David is forced to flee from Jerusalem (vs.14ff). |
| <u>Fifth Element</u> | : Absalom moves to Jerusalem and takes control of the kingdom (16:15). |
| <u>Reaffirmation</u> : | |
| <u>First Element</u> | : David is given support by members of his entourage, by Ziba and Shobi (15:19ff; 16:1ff, 27-29). |
| <u>Second Element</u> | : The revolt of Absalom is quelled (18:1ff). |

Unit III contd.Third Element

: David sits 'in the gate', i.e., he resumes his royal-judicial role (19:8).

Fourth Element

: He moves back to Jerusalem and takes control of his household (20:3).

The conflict between David's siblings in the previous unit (chs.13-14), which poses a great threat to the promised dynasty, is transformed in the present unit into a conflict between David and one sibling, Absalom. The 'seeds of conflict' are introduced very early in the unit (15:1ff), through what can be aptly termed, 'the case for Absalom.'⁸⁵ Ironically, it is this very case which can be treated as the first element of threat to the Davidic house.

Given the crucial and important role of the king in the judicial process in the Old Testament, 15:1-6 seems to be identifying some weaknesses in David's performance of this role. He is being accused of neglecting one of the conditions of kingship.⁸⁶ The narrator draws out the theme of conflict by having Absalom set himself up as an alternative and better dispenser of justice. He sets himself up not only as alternative judge, but also as an alternative king (cf.vs.6b). But Smith and Conroy have both pointed out the negative elements in this verse, which may indicate that the narrator is still pro-Davidic in his presentation of the weaknesses of David.⁸⁷

The second element of the threat, Absalom's declaration of kingship of Hebron (vs.11), seems like a logical progression from the first. But it moves the threat against the Davidic house to a new plane. Absalom challenges David's claim to kingship over Israel. The legitimate king is about to be forcibly replaced by his heir whose rights to kingship cannot yet be legitimately justified, in spite of popular support (vs.13).

It is in the fourth element of the threat, David's

flight from Jerusalem, that the threat to the Davidic house and the promised dynasty reaches its peak. Gunn has drawn an analogy between David's flight from Jerusalem and his position before becoming king at Hebron. David is "back where he started."⁸⁸ The kingdom given is now the kingdom lost. Power has been transferred to the one who has illegitimately assumed the office of king..

But David's flight from Jerusalem can also be interpreted as the introduction of an exile motif into the model of favour. It seems therefore that the model of favour like the model of disfavour begins to wrestle with the loss of land and cult at this fourth stage of development. David's loss of Jerusalem to Absalom and his party can function in the wider context of Samuel-Kings as a foretaste of the destruction of Jerusalem with its cult and temple. Indeed the threat to the Davidic household which sends David and his entourage scurrying from Jerusalem, seems to anticipate the time when there will be a forceable removal of the cream of the city's population to Babylon (II Kings 24:14-15).

David's loss of the city and all the power it symbolises, is emphasised in the report of the taking over of his herem by Absalom (II Sam.16:22).⁸⁹ This supreme indication that the Davidic house is truly under threat, picks up the sexual motif of the two precious units. Like David's violation of Bathsheba (11:4) and Amnon's rape of Tamar (13:4), Absalom's actions contaminates an area of the Davidic house which is crucial to the fulfilment of the promise of a dynasty.

When we turn to the reaffirmations of this unit, we soon discover how carefully they are balanced against the threats to produce contrasting themes. In the midst of disloyalty by son (heir) and subjects (15:13) the narrator presents a core of loyal persons in whom David finds support. The theme of support constitutes a very important element of reaffirmation.

The theme is powerfully expressed in the words of Ittai
 As the Lord lives, and as my lord the king
 lives, wherever my Lord the king shall be,
 whether for death or for life, there also
 will your servant be (15:21).⁹⁰

One can hardly ignore the possibility that the words of Ittai may be nothing short of an expression of divine support for the Davidic cause. The juxtaposing of the life of Yahweh and the life of David represents an "Oath by the life of God" which Mettinger has suggested is a part of the royal covenantal form.⁹¹ If so, then Ittai's words may be an allusion to the relationship between Yahweh and David as set out in II Sam.7.

The theme of support finds further expression in this unit in the characters of Abiathar, Zadok and Hushai. Like Ittai their chief function seems to be the affirmation of Davidic hope in crisis. The same can be said of the "gift of provisions".⁹² On two occasions David is given food during his flight from Jerusalem. The first gift, by Ziba, occurs near the start of his journey (16:1), the second by Shobi, Machir and Barzillai (17:28), at the end of the journey away from Jerusalem. On both occasions the food functions as a powerful symbol of hope. It seems to affirm the presence of favour even in the state of crisis.

It is however the end of the revolt of Absalom, and so the removal of the threat to David, that constitutes the important reaffirmation of the Davidic promise. But as in the previous units there seems to be a bitter-sweet combination of themes. Thus David regains a kingdom but loses a son and heir in the process. The other 'bitter' dimensions interlaced in this reaffirmation are, David's reaction to the death of Absalom which seems to pose a threat to his

regaining of power (18:33), and Joab's hostile reaction to David's attitude (19:5ff).

The 'bitter' dimensions are however diminished with the next element of reaffirmation, David's resumption of his judicial role of sitting ~~לִשְׁפֹּט~~ (19:8; Heb.9a). The mere fact that it takes place away from Jerusalem indicates that the king has not yet assumed his full authority as ruler. His action here, which some commentators identify with the reviewing of the troops,⁹³ is an anticipation of his return to full control of his kingdom.

The move back to Jerusalem, the supreme symbol of David's resumption of full control over the kingdom, allows the narrator to explore the question of the nature of kingship in Israel. In spite of the words put into David's mouth in 19:11-13, the narrator is able to maintain the "kingship by invitation" idea found in 2:4 and 5:1. To be king again David must be invited back by the ~~וְהָיָה דָּוִד כִּי יָבִיאוּ אֹתוֹ~~. Here may be a contrast between David's approach to kingship and that of Absalom and Adonijah who were both prepared to take kingship rather than allow it to be offered. Indeed David is made to keep in line with what must have surely been historical practice.

The narrator strengthens this fourth element of reaffirmation by having those who once opposed David, i.e. those who constituted a threat to his power, express their loyalty to David (and the Davidic house?). The apology of Shimei (vss.16-23), and the encounter of Mephibosheth (vss. 24-30) represent the defusing of any possible threat to David. Representing as they do the house of Saul, they are not only relinquishing all claims to kingship for the house of Saul

but are affirming those of the house of David.

With 19:42ff, the revolt of the northern tribes, tension enters the narrative again. There is an "almost but not yet" element which finds fuller development in the Sheba episode (20:1ff). This episode is a natural development of 19:42-43, which reports the conflict between **בֶּלְאִי-שָׁרָא** and

בֶּלְאִי-שָׁרָא about David's return. It seems however that the revolt of Sheba is presented as a much less serious threat than that of Absalom. This is achieved in a number of ways. Firstly Sheba is described as **בֶּלְאִי-שָׁרָא** which right away seems to introduce an element of unimportance into any activity that may be associated with him. Secondly his description as a Benjaminite (**בֶּלְאִי-שָׁרָא**) (vs.1), reintroduces the claims of the house of Saul which have already been settled with Mephibosheth's and Shimei's expression of allegiance to the house of David (19:16-30). But the words put into Sheba's mouth in 20:1b, still raises questions about the Davidic claims to the North. It is highly possible that the revolt of Sheba also functions as an anticipation of the revolt of the North under Jeroboam (cf. I Kings 12).⁹⁴

A third way in which the gravity of the Sheba revolt is played down is by having David return to Jerusalem to put his house in order before dealing with the revolt. David's re-establishment of his power in Jerusalem is symbolized by his taking control of his harem (vs.3). The removal of his concubines from 'active service' constitutes the removal of all 'contaminated elements' from any active participation in the promised dynasty. The very presence of David in Jerusalem is therefore to be understood as a return to normality and indeed a reaffirmation of the promised dynasty. This is clearly

demonstrated by the placing of another list of David's officials (cf. 8:15-18) at the end of the unit (20:23-26). This list, which Hertzberg thinks represents a development of organization beyond 18:15-18, may be the narrator's method of affirming that David's position after the turmoil of chs. 15-20, is even stronger than before.⁹⁵

Unit IV (I Kings 1-2).

<u>Threat : First Element</u>	: David is very old and has not yet appointed an heir (1:1ff).
<u>Second Element</u>	: There is an intense power struggle within the royal household (1:5ff).
<u>Reaffirmation</u>	
<u>First Element</u>	: David names Solomon as his heir (1:32ff).
<u>Second Element</u>	: Solomon removes all those who constitute possible threats to his power (2:1ff).

I Kings 1-2 seem to gather up all the areas of conflict that we have identified within units I to III.

- (a) David is once more in a very vulnerable position under the bewitching influence of Bathsheba (1:11ff cf. unit I : II Sam.11-12).
- (b) There is conflict between two of David's sons (Solomon and Adonijah) caused by a request of Adonijah for an illegitimate union with a woman within the royal household (2:13-25; cf. unit II : II Sam.13-14).
- (c) One of David's sons (Adonijah) attempts to acquire kingship by illegitimate means, i.e. by replacing his father David (1:5ff; cf. Unit III : II Sam.15-19 (20)).

These chapters now provide the context in which the final scene of the drama of the promised dynasty is played out. As in other sections of the Succession story there is what can only be termed a 'divine detachment' that allows human forces

to control the centre stage.⁹⁶ But as in the other units, the end result is a strengthening of the claims of the Davidic dynasty.

The unit begins with a report on the poor state of David. He is not only old but has also lost his sexual prowess (1:1-4). The state of David as here reported is a direct contrast to his state in II Sam.11-12. Indeed there seems to be a complete reversal : Whereas in II Sam.11 David enquires after Bathsheba and sends his messengers to take her (vs.3), in I Kings 1:2 his servants are the ones who seek out the woman (*וַיִּצְרְהוּ בַתְּשֻׁלָּה*) for David. The narrator in I Kings 1:1-4 is very clear in stating that David had no sexual relationship with Abishag, but it is his relationship with Bathsheba that is the very core of II Sam.11-12.

The crucial role given to Bathsheba in the exploitation of David's vulnerability has been pointed out by several scholars.⁹⁷ As in II Sam.11-12 she seems to exploit David's vulnerability once again. On this occasion her actions are still crucial to the coming into being of the promised dynasty since it concerns a decision about who should succeed David as king. By forcing David to declare Solomon as heir instead of Adonijah, who assumes the status of the legitimate heir,⁹⁸ Bathsheba draws David into another act that creates tensions for the dynastic promise.

The naming of Solomon as heir is preceded by a short pericope about the attempts of Adonijah to secure the kingship (vss.5-10). This pericope keeps alive the question of how the kingdom is to be transferred from David to his sons. Will it be by the illegitimate seizing of power by one of his sons, or by David's designation of his heir? The narrator

tilts the opinion of the reader away from Adonijah by the introduction in 1:5-8. First we are told of Adonijah's ambitions :

וַאֲדֹנִיָּה בֶן-חַגִּית מְתַנַּחֵם לְאִמֹּר
אֲנִי אֶמְלֹךְ

(vs.5a).

Noth has pointed out that the above phrase depicts Adonijah as being presumptuous (überheblich).⁹⁹ The description of Adonijah can be contrasted with that of David. The latter's attitude towards Adonijah is described in terms of fatherly latitude (vs.6a), which recalls his relationship with Absalom (cf.II Sam.14-15:6). Adonijah like Absalom is presented as being willing to exploit one of the vulnerable aspects of his father's character, his love for his children.¹⁰⁰

The element of threat is strengthened in the narrative by having leading members of David's entourage lend their support to Adonijah. By placing Joab and Abiathar in the camp of Adonijah (vs.7) and aligning Zadok, Benaiah and David's mighty men with the group that did not support him (vs.8), the narrator is declaring that the stability of the Davidic kingdom that existed at the end of Absalom's rebellion (cf.20:23-26) is now threatened.

The threat to the Davidic dynasty which seems to be pointing to its self-destruction is slowly dissipated by a series of actions, which we treat as reaffirmations of the Davidic dynasty. The first is David's naming of Solomon. In spite of the reported pressure that is brought to bear upon David by members of his entourage, the decision about who should succeed him as king is credited to "David and David alone".¹⁰¹ He is still in control of the kingdom, and ensures

the continuation of his dynasty and indeed the fulfilment of the promise of II Sam.7.

The handing over of the kingdom to Solomon produces a reaction in Adonijah's camp which constitutes further dissipation of the threat hanging over the Davidic dynasty. Adonijah's reaction is one of fear ($\aleph\eta\eta$) (vs.50) a theme which cleverly turns into an 'asset' for Solomon who expresses magnanimity towards his rival (vss.51-53). This goes a long way to convince the reader that David's choice of heir is the right choice. The link with the promise of II Sam.7 is cemented, and the true significance of Solomon's name $\aleph\eta\eta\eta\eta$ becomes apparent.

The negative attitudes that Solomon's removal of his rivals could produce in the reader's mind are significantly neutralized by presenting them as the last request of the dying David (I Kings 2:1-9). That these removals are also presented as the legitimate exercising of blood guilt,¹⁰² exonerates both David and Solomon. Solomon therefore receives a kingdom free of all the elements that could jeopardize the continuation of the Davidic dynasty and consequently the fulfilment of the promise of II Sam.7. The removal of Adonijah, which falls outside the area of blood guilt, is still presented in a manner to remove blame from Solomon. It is Adonijah who attempts, with the aid of Bathsheba, to renew his claims to the throne by asking for Abishag as his wife (2:13ff). His death is therefore to be understood as just punishment for the new threat he posed to the Davidic dynasty.

This final unit like the previous three ends up on a strong note of reaffirmation. Solomon, the one chosen

by David and indeed by Yahweh (cf. II Sam. 7:12ff), is firmly established as king and the continuation of the Davidic line as well as the fulfilment of the dynastic promise of II Sam. 7 are assured. Yahweh has kept his promise to David.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

<u>Affirmation</u>	:	The Ark represents Yahweh's power and presence in Israel (II Sam. 6:1-19)
<u>Reaffirmation</u>	:	The Ark is the ancient symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (7:1-7)
<u>Threat/Reaffirmation</u>		
<u>Threat</u>	:	The Ark is in danger of being taken away from Jerusalem its legitimate resting place into exile with David (15:24)
<u>Reaffirmation</u>	:	The Ark is sent back to Jerusalem and is not exposed to the dangers and uncertainties facing David and his entourage on the run from Absalom (15:29).

The sudden appearance of the Ark in II Sam. 15:24-29 may at first seem odd in a narrative describing David's loss of power and his flight from Jerusalem. When, however, one recalls the close relationship that has been forged between the Ark and the Davidic dynasty in II Sam. 6 and 7, the reason for its appearance in 15:24-29 soon becomes apparent. The link between dynasty and Ark continues even when the former is under severe threat.¹⁰³

The movement of the Ark from Jerusalem is an involuntary act brought about by the revolt of Absalom. It is caught in the power struggle between David and his heir and its future seems to be closely bound up with the outcome of this struggle. Its future like that of David is therefore

very uncertain, and the words of David to Ittai in 15:20a describing his own future as one of great uncertainty, can also be a good description of that of the Ark, if it went away from Jerusalem with David. The Ark will indeed be thrust back into a הַתְּהִלָּה period,¹⁰⁴ reversing David's great act of moving the Ark from obscurity into a leading role in the Jerusalem cult (cf. II Sam. 6:1ff).

The Ark is saved from this uncertain and potentially disastrous future by returning to Jerusalem. Ironically, it is Jerusalem that is soon to be taken over by David's enemies that is regarded as more secure for the Ark than presence with David and his party. Undoubtedly, the Ark-Jerusalem link is operative here. Jerusalem still symbolizes security as the legitimate resting place of the Ark, in spite of David's departure and Absalom's imminent control.

The attitude of David towards the Ark can be treated as a reaffirmation of its great cultic significance. That David's seeing of the Ark again can be a sign of Yahweh's favour (vs. 25), points to the function of the Ark as a symbol of Yahweh's favour.¹⁰⁵ Its return to Jerusalem can be interpreted as a foretaste of David's own return to his city, and the return of the nation to stability. The Ark stands as a symbol of stability and surety in a situation of chaos and uncertainty. It hints at the role played by Yahweh in the situation that seems to indicate his absence.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Affirmation

: Jerusalem, the resting place of the Ark, is the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult (II Sam. 6:16-19)

Reaffirmation : The cult of Jerusalem will be strengthened by the building of a temple to house the Ark (Yahweh) (7:12-13)

Threat/Reaffirmation

Threat : Jerusalem is threatened by pestilence and is about to be destroyed by the angel of Yahweh (II Sam.24: 15-16a)

Reaffirmation

First Element : The city is spared by Yahweh (vs.16b)

Second Element : David buys the threshing floor of Araunah, the site of the future temple, and builds an altar to Yahweh (vss.18ff).

The threatened destruction of Jerusalem comes as a direct consequence of David's sin (נִסְפָּד), i.e. his numbering of the people (vs.10). Why David's census should be regarded as a sin is not stated explicitly in the narrative. What is more it was Yahweh who incited (נִדְּבָה) David to carry out the census (vs.1). von Rad is of the opinion that the census served a military purpose and probably provided the basis for a reform in the army.¹⁰⁶ This position seems to be based on the presupposition that we are here dealing with a report of an actual historical event. But are we?

If II Sam.24 is the $\text{\textit{\tau\epsilon\rho\acute{o}s \lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron s}}$ of the Jerusalem sanctuary, accounting for its presence on a former Canaanite cultic site,¹⁰⁷ then the census material in the chapter seems to form little more than background for the story about the sanctuary. It provides the basis for the threat against the city which leads into the primary concern of the narrative, the existence of the Jerusalem sanctuary.

The responsibility for the threatened destruction of the city seems to move from the indirect responsibility of Yahweh who incites David to carry out the census (vs.1) and rests on David who recognizes his action as a sin against Yahweh, and chooses the punishment (vss.10-14). David's confession, חַטָּאתִי כְּאֵד אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתִי (vs.10) recalls that of 12:13a,¹⁰⁸ and serves the similar function of returning David to favour after his חַטָּאת. It places certain limitations on the punishment that can be meted out to David, and opens the way for the 'choice' motif in vss.12-14.

The punishment by Yahweh (vs.15f), provides the immediate context for the narrator to stress the cultic significance of Jerusalem.¹⁰⁹ This is achieved through our first element of reaffirmation, the city's escape from pestilence and destruction. The dramatic significance of the escape is emphasized in two ways. Firstly, by having the pestilence engulf most of Israel (from Dan to Beersheba vs.15) with the exception of Jerusalem, which seems to imply the special status of Jerusalem. Secondly, there is the dramatic intervention of Yahweh at the 'eleventh hour' to save Jerusalem. This introduces the theme of the special relationship between Yahweh and the city which is captured in the phrase, וַיִּנָּחֶם יְהוָה אֶל-הָרָעָה ... (vs.16). Although הָרָעָה can refer to the pestilence (דֶּבֶר) of vs.15, in another sense it can also apply to Yahweh's intention to destroy Jerusalem. Yahweh's repentance of evil is a motif found in some sections of the prophetic material, and is closely linked to another motif, that of Yahweh's compassion.¹¹⁰ Vs.16 claims that compassion is a crucial factor in the Yahweh-Jerusalem relationship.

The second element of reaffirmation, David's purchase of the threshfloor of Araunah to build an altar to Yahweh, adds a new dimension to the cultic status of Jerusalem. It now becomes the place where Yahweh is worshipped on a special site. This site which is none other than the site of the temple,¹¹¹ symbolises, as does the presence of the ark, Yahweh's permanent residence in Jerusalem.

The command to build the altar is direct and precise :

עֲלֵה קֶחָם לַיהוָה מִזֵּבַח בְּגֵרֶן
אֶרְנָה הַיְבֵסִי
(vs.18b)

Fuss treats this verse as part of an older altar aetiology which has been incorporated into the material of ch.24.¹¹² But as Carlson has pointed out, it is difficult to separate the chapter into older and later material given its present shape.¹¹³ The real significance of vs.18b, as it now stands in the narrative, is the giving of divine sanction for the transformation of an ancient Canaanite cultic site into a sanctuary for Yahweh. It therefore functions as a polemic against Canaanite religion as well.¹¹⁴

That the building of the altar on the threshing floor averts the destruction of Jerusalem and brings an end to the pestilence (vs.25), brings the 'threat-salvation' motif to the fore once more. The chapter therefore highlights this theme that is at work in the Succession story and also in chs. 21-23. Indeed, the content of these chapters not only seem to revolve around this theme, but can also function as a good precursor to ch.24.

The 'threat-salvation' motif in chs.21-24 moves from the story of the famine in ch.21:1-14, through a series of

threats to David and his subsequent rescue from each (21:15=23:17), to the threat to Jerusalem and Israel and their experience of salvation through David's building of an altar (24:1ff).

The story of ch.24 supports the idea of a close relationship between the salvation of the nation and the Jerusalem cult. But the building of an altar by David emphasises the nature of this cult. It is that which is to be found in Yahweh's chosen city of Jerusalem, established by his specially elected king, David. David and Jerusalem constitute the twin criteria of cultic legitimacy.

The Jerusalem cult thus becomes a channel of Salvation. It is a channel which is crucial for the experiences of the nation. That the establishment of the cult, i.e., the building of an altar, can avert destruction (24:18ff), seems to suggest that the removal of, or even violation of this cult, can put in motion the process of destruction once more.

The story of the pestilence can be interpreted as a reflection on this process. It not only reflects on what is necessary for the avoidance of destruction, but also on the real possibility of a king bringing destruction to the nation. That the king in the story is David may suggest that not even David is immune from sowing the seeds of destruction. And this probably reflects a conviction that kingship even through its best representative David, paves the way to disaster.

It would seem therefore that if the story of II Sam. 24 re-emphasises the Jerusalem cult as Israel's legitimate cult, initiated by Yahweh himself, the story also wrestles with the saving power invested in this cult. It is the type of power which can bring salvation to the nation. Jerusalem emerges from the story not only as the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult, but also the place from where Yahweh's salvation radiates to the entire nation.

4. Five common themes of I Kings 14 and II Sam.9-20; I Kings 1-2/II Sam.24, that affect the two royal models of disfavour (Jeroboam) and favour (David)

In this final section we turn our attention once more to a number of common themes that function in the Jeroboam and Davidic material to create these two kings into contrasting models of kingship. We shall now discuss this thematic interaction under the three broader themes of "Dynasty", "The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence" and "The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult".

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

First theme:

Disguise/Disclosure

Jeroboam sends his wife in disguise to Ahijah to enquire about the welfare of his sick child.¹¹⁶ She is exposed by the prophet who responds with a threat. (14:1ff)

David attempts to 'disguise' (cover up) his illegitimate relationship with Bathsheba through marriage. He is exposed by Nathan who responds with a threat/promise. (11:27; 12:1ff)

The twin motif of disguise/disclosure is a fairly popular one in the narrative material of the Old Testament. It can be found in the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen.38), the Joseph story (Gen.42-45), and in the story about David and the wise woman of Tekoa (II Sam.14:1-20). In I Kings 14, it functions to sustain an element of disfavour in the Jeroboam material. It is Jeroboam who orders his wife to disguise her identity and so attempts to secure prophetic knowledge on 'false pretences' (vs.2a). Vs.2b introduces a contrast between

the good news once given to Jeroboam by Ahijah (11:30ff), a sign of the good relationship between king and prophet, and the deceptive means by which the king is about to extract news from the prophet. This contrast heightens the element of disfavour.

The motif of disguise in the Davidic material (II Sam.11-12) consists of a number of threads. These include David's futile attempts to get Uriah to go to his house so that David's child may pass for his own (11:6-13); Uriah's death which allows David to take Bathsheba as his wife and so conceal his illegitimate actions (11:27), and Nathan's parable which is a 'disguised' account of David's actions (12:1-5). These three merge to introduce an element of disfavour into the Davidic material. The motif performs the same function as in the Jeroboam material.

When we move to the second part of the motif, "Disclosure", we at once detect a parting of the two models. In the Jeroboam material, the disclosure is done solely by the prophet with no involvement by Jeroboam's wife who undoubtedly functions in the narrative as his representative. She, and so Jeroboam, is given a very passive role in the disclosure process. In contrast David is given a very active role, through which the narrator is able to credit him with a measure of favour. He takes the side of the poor man of Nathan's parable demanding justice for the poor man and punishment for the rich man who wronged him. That David is himself the rich man,¹¹⁷ does not in any way remove the small element of favour that is reflected in his demand for justice.

The small element of favour is somewhat magnified

in David's confession of guilt (12:13). This dimension of the Yahweh-king relationship is conspicuously absent from the Jeroboam material. Jeroboam does not speak after the words of vss.2-3 and there is no reported response to the prophetic threat as there is in the Davidic material. Whereas the disclosure of Jeroboam's wife leads into a sustained threat (vss.6ff), Nathan's exposure of David's scheme leads to a threat that is tempered with an element of hope (salvation) (vs.13b). In spite of the disguise and the threat, David still remains the royal model of favour. Jeroboam continues to be the model of disfavour.

Second theme

The sickness and death of the king's child

Jeroboam responds to his child's sickness with an act of deception. The child's death is a surety of the destruction of Jeroboam's dynasty (vs.1,12-13)

David responds to his child's sickness with acts of piety. The child's death is a sign of Yahweh's judgement, but also of his promise that David will not die, i.e. his house will continue (vs.13f)

Under this theme the two kings stand once more as contrasting models of kingship. We have discussed above the role of the deception (disguise) motif in shaping Jeroboam into a model of disfavour. When viewed as his response to the sickness of his child, it sharpens the contrast between Jeroboam and David. David's response of piety serves to strengthen the Davidic model of favour, by placing him in a close relationship with Yahweh, whereas Jeroboam's response of deception implies a faulty relationship between him and Yahweh.

The death of the king's child is equated with

salvation as well as judgement in each block of material. There is however a significant difference in the way the salvation and judgement themes function in relationship to the two kings and the death of their child. In the Jeroboam material, the death of the child is a symbol of his salvation and the judgement of his father (vss.12-13). The child is described as being *לְהַסֵּיבֵהוּ אֶל-הַקָּהָל* to separate him from Jeroboam and his house. Ironically, death brings salvation to the child since it saves him from the catastrophe that is about to fall upon his father's dynasty. Death (salvation) is an escape from judgement.

Death can also be interpreted as an escape from judgement in the Davidic material, but here the death of David's child represents David's own escape from judgement rather than that of the child. The child bears part of the divine judgement in a way that Jeroboam's child does not (vs.14b). If in Jeroboam's case the child through death is able to escape the consequences of the 'sins of the father', with David, the child by his death bears the 'sins of the father'. The narrator of I Kings 14 presents death as a state to be preferred to the consequences of the sin of Jeroboam. On the other hand, the narrator of II Sam.12 suggests that life for David is to be preferred to death, despite any consequences of his sin he may have to experience. Life for David means above all other things, an indication of divine favour. For Jeroboam it represents a march to divine judgement, a sure sign of divine disfavour.

Third theme

Dynastic destiny : The threat to the king's house by another royal figure whom Yahweh will raise up

Jeroboam's house will be cut off by a king whom Yahweh will raise up.
(vs.14)

David's house will be threatened by the one (evil) whom Yahweh will raise up from within it.
(12:11)

The fate of the house of Jeroboam as expressed here is similar to that of 13:34. On this occasion, a human agent is to be instrumental in bringing about the divine judgement upon Jeroboam's house. It is Yahweh who will appoint a מֶלֶךְ עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל whose task will be to bring upon the house of Jeroboam the consequences of its founder's sin. Just as the rise of Jeroboam was through the initiative of Yahweh (cf.11:29ff) so his downfall will be brought about by Yahweh's appointment of an 'instrument of destruction'. If the former indicates some measure of divine favour, the latter emphasizes the extent to which Jeroboam has moved away from his original position to become a model of divine disfavour.

Although the house of David like that of Jeroboam will come under threat from another royal figure, the content of the two threats seems to indicate that the one against the Davidic house is less severe. The house of Jeroboam, we are told, will be 'cut off' (כָּרַת) whereas the threat against the Davidic house is expressed in terms of the 'raising up of evil' (מִקִּים עֲלֶיהָ רָעָה קִבֵּיתָהּ). The words used for Jeroboam contain connotations of finality which are absent from the threat against the Davidic house. Within the Davidic house there will be domestic (dynastic) strife and turmoil rather than total dynastic destruction.

The clear distinction in the content of the threats against the two kings is related to the models of kingship they represent. With David the model of favour, room is left for some hope after the $\eta\gamma\eta$ has come against his house. With Jeroboam, there is no such room for hope. His house is destined for total destruction.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Fourth theme:

The symbols of Yahweh's power and presence

Jeroboam makes for himself other gods and molten images (vs.9).

David shows great reverence for the Ark and refuses to take it away from Jerusalem into exile (15:24-29).

We have seen in our analysis so far what a crucial role is played by the Ark and the calves of Dan and Bethel in the creation of the two royal models. We are once more reminded of Jeroboam's $\eta\alpha\gamma\eta$ of 12:26-27. In the final stage of the creation of the royal model of disfavour, the most important act that influenced the creation of the model, i.e. Jeroboam's making of the two calves, is brought back to the fore. The reader is not allowed to forget Jeroboam's rejection of the legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence, the Ark in Jerusalem.

David's reverence for the Ark automatically places him on the opposite side to Jeroboam. Several scholars have correctly pointed out that II Sam.15:24-29 represents a 'positive' side to the presentation of David in the Succession story.¹¹⁸ The positive nature of the pericope

is largely achieved through David's refusal to expose the Ark to his own uncertain future.¹¹⁹ He is therefore credited with attributing to the Ark an importance far greater than his own. Its security is of more importance than that of his entourage. The attitudes here credited to David are the direct opposite to those attributed to Jeroboam before the creation of the calves. This act is presented as one prompted from fear for his own security, aimed at maintaining his control of his people (12:26-28).

Jeroboam and David are therefore presented as champions of two opposite and conflicting representations of Yahweh's power and presence. David is the one who reaffirms that the Ark is to be revered and this reaffirms his own status of a royal model of favour. Jeroboam as the one who not only rejects the Ark but provides an illegitimate substitute, namely his calves, affirms his status as a model of disfavour.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult.

Fifth theme

The king's allegiance to the Yahweh cult at Jerusalem

<p>Jeroboam unlike David has not kept Yahweh's commands, and has not followed him with all his heart...but has 'cast Yahweh behind his back' (vss.8b-9)</p>	<p>David buys the threshing floor of Araunah in Jerusalem and builds there an altar for Yahweh (II Sam.24:18ff)</p>
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As pointed out earlier, the David with whom Jeroboam is being compared here is the idealised David of I & II Kings and to a lesser extent, of SDR.¹²⁰ Given the fact that the important accusation against Jeroboam concerns his

abandonment of Jerusalem and his establishment of rival shrines (I Kings 12:26-28), the commands which he is accused of breaking would include the prohibition against images, as well as the requirement to worship at Jerusalem only.¹²¹ The latter is probably implied in the accusation that Jeroboam cast Yahweh behind his back (vs.9). This accusation recalls the words of Jeroboam in 12:28.

We can contrast Jeroboam, who has not kept Yahweh's commands and rejects Jerusalem, with David who obeys a directive of Yahweh and acquires a cultic site for Yahweh in Jerusalem. The purchase of the threshing floor of Araunah creates another contrast between David and Jeroboam. This transaction seems to suggest that David acquires for Yahweh what once belonged to another god.¹²² On the other hand, Jeroboam not only rejects this very site through his rejection of Jerusalem, but his establishment of the bull-shrines of Dan and Bethel can be interpreted as giving to another god, the type of allegiance that belongs exclusively to Yahweh.

David, the one who is depicted as laying the foundation for the establishment of the Jerusalem cult, is created into a model of favour. This is largely achieved by making him the indispensable element in the process which led to the establishment and the consolidation of the Yahweh cult in Jerusalem. In contrast, Jeroboam who rejects the same cultic site for which David is made responsible, is the royal model of disfavour.

In keeping with the pattern adopted in chapters two and three, we shall now set out the thematic interaction of the two royal models. This will be done within the context of the 'Threats' (model of disfavour) and 'Threats - Reaffirmation' (model of favour) which occur in this stage of the development of the models.

Model of disfavourModel of favourThreatThreat/ReaffirmationA. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Yahweh will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam..... and will raise up a king who will cut off the house of Jeroboam (I Kings 14:10-12, 14).

There is murder and revolt within the Davidic house, but David regains control and is able to hand over his kingdom to Solomon (II Sam. 11-20; I Kings 1-2).

First ThemeDisguise/Disclosure

Jeroboam sends his wife in disguise to Ahijah the prophet. She is exposed by the prophet who responds with a threat (I Kings 14:1ff).

David tries to 'disguise' (cover-up) his illegitimate relationship with Bathsheba through marriage. He is exposed by Nathan who responds with a threat/promise (II Sam. 11:27-12:1).

Second ThemeThe sickness and death of the king's child

Jeroboam responds to his child's sickness with an act of deception. The child's death is a surety of the destruction of Jeroboam's kingdom (I Kings 14:1, 12-13).

David responds to his child's sickness with acts of piety. The child's death is a sign of Yahweh's judgement, but also his promise that David will not die, i.e., his house will continue (II Sam. 12:13ff).

Third Theme

Dynastic destiny: The threat to the king's house by another royal figure whom Yahweh will raise up.

Jeroboam's house will be cut off by a king whom Yahweh will raise up (I Kings 14:14).

David's house will be threatened by the evil (i.e., a person) raised up by Yahweh (II Sam. 12:11).

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Jeroboam has made other gods and molten images (I Kings 14:9).

The Ark is in danger of being taken away from Jerusalem into exile with David. It is sent back to Jerusalem and is saved from the dangers and uncertainties facing David (II Sam.15:24-29).

Fourth Theme

The symbols of Yahweh's power and presence

Jeroboam rejects the Ark and makes other representations of Yahweh's power and presence (I Kings 14:

David shows great reverence for the Ark and refuses to take it away from Jerusalem into exile (II Sam.15:24-29).

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

All Israel will go into exile because of the "sin of Jeroboam which he made Israel to sin," i.e., Bethel and Dan will be deprived of a worshipping community (I Kings 14:15-16).

Jerusalem is threatened by pestilence and is about to be destroyed by an angel of Yahweh. The city is spared from destruction and David purchases a site for the Yahweh cult in Jerusalem (II Sam. 24: 15ff).

Fifth Theme

The king's allegiance to the Yahweh cult at Jerusalem

Jeroboam unlike David, has not kept Yahweh's commands, and has not followed him with all his heart....but has cast Yahweh behind his back (I Kings 14:8b-9).

David obeys a directive of Yahweh, buys the threshing floor of Araunah, and builds there an altar for Yahweh (II Sam.24:18ff).

5. The Prototypes of Disfavour (Jeroboam) and Favour (David) as Explanations and Interpretations of the National Experience.

The models of kingship created around Jeroboam and David, seem to address as well as provide some answers to some of the complex theological and historical questions arising from the traditions of the two eras. The similarity of the models in the first stage (SJR and SDR), can largely be accounted for by the basic question being addressed: What accounted for the rise of the dynasties of Jeroboam and David? The secession of the North and the replacement of the house of Saul by the house of David constitute the two events for which some answers are sought in our first stage.

The basis upon which these answers are largely constructed is the theme which can be termed 'the sin of the predecessor.' The sin of Solomon (I Kings 11:1ff) and that of Saul (I Sam. 15:9ff) constitute the first literary/theological plank used in the construction of the two models. The negative images of Solomon and Saul provide the literary/theological material which is used in the creation of the prototypes Jeroboam and David.

It may be of some significance that Israel's relationship with other nations is an important factor at this stage of the development of the two models. It is the negative side of this relationship which is stressed in reporting the rise of the prototypes. Thus Solomon's flirtation with foreign women and their cults, and Saul's refusal to herem Amalek are cited as meriting Yahweh's raising up of rival kings.

The kingship of the two prototypes is credited to the initiative of Yahweh. But this initiative is not only

reflected in the raising up of the new kings, but also in the punishment of Solomon and Saul for their unacceptable relationships with other nations. Yahweh's judgement and the elevation of the prototypes to kingship become juxtaposed in the first stage of their development. Disfavour thus becomes the matrix out of which Jeroboam and David emerge in favourable light. At the same time their emergence carry profound implications for the nation. The future experiences of the nation are linked to the kingship of these two kings.

The questions relating to the emergence of the dynasties of Jeroboam and David are carried over into the second stage of the development of the models. They are however related to the concerns of the second stage. These are concerns about the legitimacy of the rival national shrines at Jerusalem in the South and Dan and Bethel in the North. The second stage creates the merger of dynastic and cultic concerns. It is upon this merger that the dramatic divergence of the models in this stage is largely built.

The merger of these concerns (themes) stands in direct contrast to the dramatic divergence of the models. The divergence is created through what can be termed a curse/blessing cultic factor. Jeroboam's rejection of the Jerusalem shrine and his establishment of the national shrines in the North (I Kings 12:26ff), becomes the curse factor which permeates his dynasty and the kingship of the North. The element of favour attached to Jeroboam in the first stage now gives way to a strong element of disfavour.

This element of disfavour is articulated primarily in terms of the creation of two bull symbols and their installa-

tion at Dan and Bethel. That Jeroboam is credited with these feats creates him in the context of the conviction about the exclusive legitimacy of the Jerusalem shrine, into the quintessence of the element of disfavour. The supreme cultic act of cultic apostasy creates Jeroboam into the representative par excellence of the model of disfavour.

A similar type of interpretation is at work in the Davidic material. Just as the conviction of the exclusive cultic legitimacy of the Jerusalem cult automatically transforms Jeroboam's establishment of the rival northern shrines as the crucial factor identifying him as a representative of the model of disfavour, David's establishment of the Ark shrine in Jerusalem becomes a strong indicator of his favourable status. Thus the cultic status of the Ark which is clearly to be understood as the only legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence, is translated into dynastic legitimacy and projected onto David. His taking of the Ark to Jerusalem and its installation there, provides the context for the affirmation of Davidic dynastic claims (II Sam.6). Convictions about the cultic status of the Ark merge with those about the cultic status of Jerusalem and the dynastic claims of the Davidic house.

The tension emerging from what were probably similar cultic claims for the Ark in Jerusalem and the bull symbols of the North on one hand, and the related claims of the cultic status of Jerusalem and Bethel (and Dan?) on the other, function to sharpen the two contrasting models emerging in this second stage. The identification of the models with the initial cultic acts which become determinative for the future of dynasty, cult and nation, introduces into the models at this second

stage the close link between kingship cult and history.

It is however in the third stage that this link is taken to the level at which kingship begins to function as an interpretation of national experience. Jeroboam's creation of national shrines is interpreted in terms of the loss of dynasty (I Kings 13:34) and national shrine (13:1ff). Jeroboam becomes the one who cancels the future. This negative destructive force becomes one of the important characteristics of the model of disfavour. The prototype Jeroboam is credited with initiating the destructive power that can have no curtailment in history.

This understanding of the negative force initiated by Jeroboam, is in direct contrast to the positive force initiated by David. As Jeroboam's actions place great constraints upon the future of the North, David's seem to unlock an endless future. The threat that Jeroboam's house will be cut off (I Kings 13:34), and the shrine of Bethel will be destroyed (13:1ff), can be placed alongside the promise that David's dynasty will last forever and the status of the Jerusalem cult will reach unprecedented heights (II Sam.7:5ff).

The close relationship that is created between David and the Ark in II Sam.6, gives way to a similar relationship between David and the temple. This relationship between David and the institution whose presence came to be understood as being crucial for the present and future of Israel, constitutes one of the most powerful elements in the creation of David into a model of favour. It helps to create David into a determinative factor in the flow and the outcome of the history of the nation.

It is also in this third stage that we encounter what seems to be some wrestling with the relationship between kingship and disaster. This interpretation of kingship which surfaces in the so-called anti-monarchical source on the origin of kingship (I Sam.8;10:17-27a;12:1-25; cf.15), and in the first stage through the 'sin of the predecessor,' is now sharpened by making the acts of the king directly responsible for disaster. Jeroboam becomes the one responsible for the introduction of disaster into the national experience, even if this is restricted to the destruction of his dynasty (I Kings 13:34) and the national shrine (13:1ff). The model of disfavour becomes an explanation for and an interpretation of the more unpleasant experiences of history.

One can compare and contrast the king/act:disaster cycle of the Jeroboam material which produces the model of disfavour, with the king/act:salvation cycle of the Davidic material of this stage. Disaster and salvation emerge as being the fruits of the models of disfavour and favour respectively. They become the chasm separating the models, and function as explanation and interpretation of the experiences of the kingdoms.

It is however in the fourth stage of the development of the models that this response to the experiences of the nation begin to take shape. The answers to these experiences are integrated into the models of kingship so that the models become explanations of the contrasting experiences of the nation. The destruction of the Jeroboam dynasty and the Assyrian conquest of the northern kingdom all find their explanation in the model of disfavour created around Jeroboam.

In the Davidic material of this stage, there is a deep wrestling with some of the perplexing national experiences. There is an attempt to reconcile the problems of the Davidic household, problems which become more acute in the context of II Sam.7. At one level these problems are articulated in terms of the sin/judgement relationship. The crisis faced by the nation is simply the consequences of sin. The revolt of Absalom becomes the direct consequence of David's sin and brings chaos and destruction to the nation.

At another level, the revolt of Absalom can be understood primarily as a historical event which constitutes a serious threat to the stability of the nation. The nation moulded by David is threatened with disintegration. The threat no doubt was the direct result of the power struggles within the Davidic household. The inherent problems of power and control were at work.

These two levels merge in the Davidic material. The revolt becomes not only the consequence of sin but a bitter national experience. But the failure of the revolt like David's reprieve from the sentence of death (II Sam.12:13), function as an indication of David's special relationship with Yahweh. The model of favour it would seem, attempts to come to grips with some of the more unpleasant experiences of the nation without ever losing sight of the hope attached to David and his dynasty.

It seems therefore that the material of this stage has also been shaped to bring out two contrasting models of kingship. It also seems to contain some general reflections upon kingship especially as this relates to the welfare and survival of the nation. The northern kingship founded by

Jeroboam is pronounced a failure. This failure comes as the result, of his rejection of the Jerusalem cult (I Kings 14:9ff). But this failure which originates with Jeroboam permeates the nation and leads it to destruction. In other words the nation also becomes a failure. The model of kingship represented by Jeroboam becomes the symbol of failure and destruction.

But this negative understanding of kingship, especially that represented by Jeroboam, can be held alongside that represented by David. Indeed in David the negative and the positive sides of kingship coalesce. All the Davidic material of this stage can be treated as constituting a reflection upon kingship. As is the case with Jeroboam, kingship is seen to contain many negative elements. If David's flight from Jerusalem, i.e., his temporary exile, can indeed be interpreted as a reference to the later exile of the nation,¹²³ then the favourable model of kingship incorporates the most negative element of national experience.

This seems to suggest that in this stage of the model of favour as there is in the model of disfavour, there is a reflection upon kingship in relation to exile. Both models seem to suggest that kingship contains some negative destructive elements which can only produce disaster. We are pointed to the limitations of kingship.

It is these limitations which are further explored in the material attached to the kings who follow Jeroboam and David. As will be shown, the three pairs of kings selected for our study in the second part of our discussion all seem to reflect these limitations. With those representing the

model of disfavour, the limitation is articulated in terms of the king's failure to cultivate the right cultic response to Yahweh. The persistence of the 'sin of Jeroboam' and flirtations with the canaanite cults are cited as the barriers which prevent the cultivation of this response.

Although the kings representing the model of favour are presented as having the right cultic attitude, yet they still highlight the limitations of kingship. This is highlighted in two ways. The first surfaces in the Hezekiah material. Hezekiah the good and pious king exposes his kingdom to the Babylonians and so to inevitable destruction (II Kings 20:12-19). The failure of all the cultic acts and the acts of piety of Hezekiah and Josiah to cancel out the disasters brought on by the representatives of the model of disfavour, can be counted as yet another indication of the limitations of kingship.

The task before us now is to show the kings in the second part of our study continue to function as interpretations of national experience. The events of history especially those which bring disaster and destruction are all credited to the failures of the kings. Kingship continues to be the answer to several perplexing and painful questions of history. It is to the three pairs of kings that we now turn, to discover how they function to provide answers to these questions.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. Montgomery, Kings, pp. 265-267;
 Burney Kings, pp. 185-192; also,
 Würthwein, I Könige 1-16, who labels vss.19-20 the
 "Abschlüssformel Jerobeams," p. 180.
2. Gray treats vss. 1-18 as a unit but links vss.19-20
 with vss.21-24 under the general title of "Editorial
 note on the death of Jeroboam and the accession and
 reign of Rehoboam of Judah." I & II Kings, pp.333,340.
3. Noth, Könige, pp.308ff-320; The Deuteronomistic History,
 pp.69-70.
 cf. also, Ellis, "1-2 Kings," p. 192.
4. cf. Rehm, Das Erste Buch der Könige, p. 146.
5. cf. Wellhausen, J. Einleitung in das Alte Testament
 von Fredrich Bleek, 4th ed. (Berlin 1878)
 pp. 224-241.
6. Rost, The Succession, pp.84-85.
7. Eissfeldt, Introduction, pp.271ff;
 cf. also, von Rad, 'The Beginnings of Historical Writing
 in Ancient Israel,' in The Problem of the Hexateuch,
 p. 193.
 Pfeiffer, Introduction, pp.353ff.
 Whybray, R. N. The Succession Narrative, SBT II,
 No. 9, (London 1968), pp. 8ff.
 Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p. 299.
 cf. Soggin, A. Das Königtum in Israel, BZAW 104,
 (Berlin 1967).
 Porter, 'Old Testament Historiography,' In Tradition and
Interpretation, G. W. Anderson ed., (Oxford 1979)
 p. 151.
 Mettinger, King and Messiah, pp. 27ff.
8. Gressman, H. 'Stories of David and his sons', in
Narrative and Novelle in Samuel, D. M. Gunn, (ed),
 (Sheffield 1983), pp.153-183; 191-194.
9. Caspari, W. '2 Sam. 15-20: Literary Nature and Historical
 Value' Narrative and Novelle, pp. 135ff.

10. Carlson, David, pp. 131ff.
Blenkinsopp, J., 'Theme and Motif in the Succession History (2 Sam.xi:2ff) and the Yahwist Corpus' SVT 15 (1965) 44-57.
Flanagan, J.W., 'Court History or Succession Document? A Study of 2 Sam. 9-20 and I Kgs.1-2,' JBL 91 (1972) 172-181.
Schulte, H., Die Entstehung der Geschichtsschreibung in Alten Israel (Berlin 1972).
Gunn, D. King David, pp. 65ff.
cf. also Conroy's isolation of I Sam. 13-20 as a self-contained literary unit, which raises questions about the unity of II Sam.9-20; I Kings 1-2.
Absalom Absalom pp. 138-180.
11. Gunn, King David, p.66; cf. also.
Schulte, Geschichtsschreibung, pp.138-180.
Segal, M. H., 'The Composition of the Books of Samuel,' JQR 55 (1964-65), pp.318-39.
Hempel, J., Geschichten und Geschichte im Alten Testament bis persischen Zeit, (Gütersloh:1964).
Hertzberg, I & II Samuel pp.297, 299, 376.
Rendtorff, R., 'Beobachtungen zur altisraelitischen Geschichtsschreibung anhand der Geschichte vom Aufstieg Davids' in Probleme biblischer Theologie, pp. 136-54.
12. Ridout, G. P., Prose Compositional Techniques in the Succession Narrative (2 Sam.7, 9-20; I Kgs.1-2), (Ann Arbor, 1971).
cf. also, Cross, F. M. Canaanite Myth, p.211, n.61.
Mettinger, King and Messiah, pp.60,62.
13. Gunn, King David, p. 67.
14. Caird, G.B., 'The First and Second Books of Samuel,' IB Vol.II, p. 856.
cf. also, Pfeiffer, Introduction, p. 341.

16. cf. Whybray, Succession Narrative, p. 8.
Rost, The Succession, p.67.
Mettinger, King and Messiah, p.27ff.
17. Hölscher, G. Geschichtsschreibung in Israel. Untersuchungen zum Yahwisten und Elohisten, (Lund 1952), p. 288.
18. Mowinckel, 'Israelite Historiography' ASTI 2 (1963) 4-26.
19. Schulte, Geschichtsschreibung, pp.11-14.
20. Rost, The Succession, p.113.
cf. also, Rehm, Das Erste Buch der Könige, pp.30ff;
Würthwein, I Könige 1-16, pp.25ff.
21. Noth, Könige, p. 8ff.
22. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p. 32.
23. cf. Ackroyd, INT 35 (1981) pp. 384ff.
24. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 113.
25. Montgomery, Kings, p.101.
26. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p.410ff.
27. *ibid.*
cf. also, Ahlström, G. W. 'Der Prophet Nathan und der Tempelbau' VT 11 (1961), pp.113-127.
28. cf. below, pp. 197ff.
29. cf. Rehm, Das Erste Buch der Könige, p. 148.
30. Debus, J. Die Sünde Jerobeams, p. 17.
31. Würthwein, I Könige 1-16, p. 177; also,
Debus, Die Sünde Jerobeams, p.52.
Noth, Könige, p.315.
32. On the use of אֶרֶץ and נֶתַן in the early stage of the development of the two royal models, cf. above pp. 67ff.
33. On the significance of the use of לִבְנֵי in association with הַיְיָ
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 337; Würthwein, I Könige 1-16, p.177

34. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p.72.
35. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p. 271. This translation is also found in AV.
36. cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, p. 783.
37. Davidson, Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon, p.593.
38. Burney, Kings, p. 186.
39. Burney, *ibid.*
40. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p. 131, n.10.
41. Seebass, H., "Tradition und Interpretation bei Jehu ben Chanani und Ahia von Silo" VT 25 (1975), 175-190.
42. Seebass, VT 25 (1975) p. 183, n.32.
43. Seebass, VT 25 (1975) p. 184.
44. Kutsch, E., "Die Wurzel רצו in Hebraischen" VT II (1952), 57-69.
45. *ibid.*
46. Gray, I & II Kings, p.338.
47. Montgomery, Kings, p.272.
48. Lewy, J., HUCA 12-13 (1937-38) as quoted in Montgomery, Kings, p.271.
49. As quoted by Gray, I & II Kings, p. 337.
50. Saydon, P. "The Meaning of the Expression רצו ורצו", VT 11 (1952), pp.371-374.
51. Rehm, Das Erste Buch der Könige, p. 149. We may have in this phrase an example of merismus expressing a totality by means of a pair of opposites as hinted by Rehm.
52. Würthwein, I Könige 1-16, p. 177.
53. Gray, I & II Kings, p.335.
54. Noth, Könige, p.308.
55. Rehm, Das Erste Buch der Könige, p.146.

56. cf. Davidson, Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon, p. 146.
57. cf. Deut. 13:5; 17:7, 12; 19:13,19; 21:19,22.
58. Gray, I & II Kings, p.338.
59. cf. Davidson, Hebrew & Chaldee Lexicon, pp.19-20.
cf. also, Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew & English Lexicon, p.29.
60. cf. Ellis, '1 - 2 Kings' p. 192;
Nelson, Double Redaction, p. 103.
Debus, Die Sünde Jeroboams, p. 52.
61. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.338.
McCullough, W.S. "Dog," IDB, Vol.I, p.862.
62. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p. 242;
Reed, W.L. "Burial," IDB Vol.I, pp.474-476.
63. cf. von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, pp.78ff.
64. But cf. Ellis, who thinks the narrator may be comparing Jeroboam with Solomon, '1 - 2 Kings' p.192.
65. cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, pp.32-34.
66. cf. Coats, Rebellion in the Wilderness, (Nashville 1968).
67. cf. I Kings 14:15; 15:30; 16:2ff.
68. cf. Rehm, Das Erste Buch der Könige, p. 148;
Noth, Könige, p. 315.
69. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.339.
70. cf. its widespread occurrence in the prophetic material.
71. cf. above, pp. 59ff.
72. For further discussion on Nathan's parable,
cf. Gunn, King David, pp.40ff;
Simon, V. 'The poor man's Ewe Lamb. An example of a Juridical parable' Bib. (1967) 207-242.
73. cf. Fokkelman, J.P. Narrative Art p.83.
74. Fokkelman, Narrative Art, p.84.
75. cf. Gunn, King David, p.82.

76. cf. the claim of Gunn that the plot in II Sam. 11-12 moves from gift offered and received, through gift rebuffed to the polar opposite of grasping by force. King David, p. 97.
77. Gunn, King David, p.98.
78. cf. Fokkelman, Narrative Art, p.87.
79. This motif is introduced at the very start of the episode, 11:2, where we are told that David sees Bathsheba having a bath.
80. cf. Fokkelman, Narrative Art, pp.99ff.
81. cf. Carlson, David p.165.
82. On the role of David as father,
cf. Gunn, King David, pp.88ff.
83. cf. the addition of LXX at 13:21:
Kai ouk elupesen to pneuma Amnon tou uiou autou
oti egapa auton oti prototokos autou en.
(But he did not grieve the spirit of Amnon for he loved him since he was his first-born).
This addition clearly enhances the image of David through the motif of his love for his children,
cf. Carlson, David, p.164, n.1; Gunn, King David, p.93.
84. cf. Fokkelman, Narrative Art, p.99.
85. cf. the comment of Gunn, 'the reader is likely to find himself emotionally reinstating the prince.....'
King David, p.101.
86. cf. Whitelam, K.W. The Just King. Monarchical Judicial Authority in Ancient Israel, JSOT Supp. Series, 12 (Sheffield 1979) pp.137ff.
87. Smith, Samuel, p.340; Conroy, Absalom, p.105, n.35.
88. Gunn, King David, p.101.
89. cf. Carlson, David, p.177 n.4 for the cultic significance of this act in the context of Ancient Near Eastern kingship.

90. On the literary structure of this verse,
cf. Conroy, Absalom, p.120.
91. Mettinger, King and Messiah, p.133 n.7.
92. cf. Gunn, King David, pp.50ff for the function of this
motif in the Davidic material.
93. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p.361.
94. On the relationship between II Sam.20:1 and I Kings
12:16,
cf. Carlson, David, p.179.
95. cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p.375.
96. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, pp.312ff.
97. cf. Whybray, Succession Narrative, pp.40ff;
Gunn, King David, pp.106.
98. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.79.
99. Noth, Könige, p.14.
100. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.81.
101. cf. Gunn, King David, p.105.
102. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.89; Pedersen, Israel III-IV,
pp.423-425.
103. cf. Carlson, David, p. 174.
104. cf. Fokkelman, Narrative Art, p.185.
105. cf. Carlson, David, pp.173ff. The conditional element
that is introduced in this verse (vs.25) seems to
be totally concerned with the plight of David.
The uncertainty is therefore about the survival
of David, rather than about the survival of the
Ark. It will continue to be the symbol of Yahweh's
power and presence.
106. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, p.317.
107. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, p.318.
108. cf. Carlson, David, p.205.

109. On the significance of David's acceptance of punishment,
cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, p.316; Carlson, David,
p.212.
110. cf. Amos 7:1ff; Jer.26:3,19; 42:10.
111. cf. Ahlström, VT 11 (1961) 113-127.
112. Fuss, W. 'II Sam.24' ZAW 74 (1962) 145-164.
113. Carlson, David, p.207.
114. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, p.318.
Weiser, A. 'Die Tempelbaukrise unter Davids'
ZAW 77 (1956) 153-168.
Soggin, ZAW 78 (1968) 179-204.
115. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, p.47.
116. cf. the view of Gray who relates the visit of Jeroboam's
wife to Ahijah, to the promise made earlier to
Jeroboam. I & II Kings, p.336.
117. cf. Seebass, H. 'Nathan und David in II Sam.12'
ZAW 86 (1974) 203-211. For idea of Yahweh as rich man.
cf. Delekat, L., "Tendenz und Theologie der David-Salomo
Erzählung," in Das Ferne und nahe Wort, F Mass ed.
BZAW 105 (Berlin 1967) pp.32-33.
118. cf. McKane, W. I & II Samuel, Torch Bible Commentary,
(London 1963) pp.253-254.
Brueggemann, W. 'On coping with Curse: A Study of 2
Sam.16:5-14' CBQ 36 (1974) 175-192.
119. cf. above, pp. 220.221.
120. cf. Würthwein, I Könige 1-16, p.177; also above, p.190.
121. cf. Van Seters, In Search of History. Historiography
in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical
History (New Haven, 1983).
122. cf. above, pp. 221-225.
123. cf. above p. 212.

PART II

THE RE-CREATION OF TWO MODELS
OF DISFAVOUR AND FAVOUR

PART II

The Re-creation of the Prototypes and the Consolidation of the Link between Kingship and the National Experience.

The relationship between kingship and the national experience which is explored in the Jeroboam and Davidic material is also at work in the material to be discussed in the second part of our study. The re-creation of the two prototypes constitutes at the same time a reflection of how kingship can become the crucial factor which determines the nature of the national experience.

Ahab and Josiah, Ahaziah and Hezekiah, Jehu and Manasseh, all function to strengthen the relationship between the models of kingship and the experiences of the nation. This is explored primarily in terms of the king/cult: disaster and the king/cult: salvation relationship. The king's attitude to the Yahweh cult and other cults becomes an important element in the construction of the model he represents and consequently the type of national experience he generates.

Reform, i.e. the removal of non-Yahwistic cultic elements and the consolidation of the Yahweh cult, becomes an important theme in the re-creation of the models in this part of our study. Its opposite is identified as the establishment and strengthening of the cults of gods other than Yahweh. The kings of the pairs mentioned above represent these negative and positive sides of reform. Reform then becomes a strong indicator not simply of the type of model represented by the king who is credited with the reform or the anti-reform, but

also of the proximity of national disaster. National disaster results when the delicate balance between the contrasting and opposing types of reform is upset.

Our discussion of the kings in pairs which consists of representatives of the two contrasting models of kingship, especially the last section of each chapter, will tend to highlight the nature of this delicate balance. This is very pronounced in the material dealing with kingdom of Judah where the exceptionally good work of Hezekiah and Josiah is cancelled out by the 'sins' of Manasseh (cf. II Kings 23:26-27). Similarly in report of the northern kingdom, the cultic reform of Jehu is unable to halt the kingdom's slide to destruction (cf. II Kings 10:28-31). The destruction of the two kingdoms can thus be understood as the direct result of upsetting the delicate cultic balance beyond the point of no return.

Since the kings continue to be the persons credited with the responsibility for the cultic status of the nation, any actions of theirs which are deemed to carry serious implications for the national cult become a commentary on the model of kingship they represent. We can further claim that given the close relationship that is thought to exist between the status of the cult and the national experience, the king's actions will also cement the bond between kingship and the national experience.

Our task now is to explore how kingship as it is represented by the kings to be discussed continues to function as an interpretation of the national experience. This exploration will be carried out with the aid of our three themes:

- A. Israel's legitimate dynasty.
- B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence.
- C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult.

These themes, as in the first part of our study, will enable us to identify the model of kingship represented by each king, and so the type of future/national experience he generates.

CHAPTER 5

1. The Delimitation of the units(a) The Ahab material (I Kings 16:29-22:40)

I Kings 16:29-34 and I Kings 22:39-40 can be treated as the two passages which mark the outer limits of the Ahab material. These two passages constitute respectively the introduction and the conclusion normally used for the presentation of the reign of the kings of the North. Within 16:29 and 22:40, there is a mass of material, some of which is loosely attached to Ahab.

I Kings 22 is normally treated as a good example of this type of material. There is considerable discussion on how far the king of Israel mentioned in the chapter is to be identified with Ahab.² But since the name Ahab does occur in the text (vs.20), it would seem that all the actions being attributed to the king of Israel are also being attributed to Ahab.³ If indeed the name is a late entry into the story of the chapter, this transformed the material into the type which strengthens the image of disfavour created by the other material attached to Ahab. Ch.22 like all the material within 16:29 and 22:40 will be treated in this chapter as functioning to create Ahab into a representative of the model of disfavour

(b) The Josiah material (II Kings 22:1-23:30)

Like the Ahab material, that relating to Josiah is clearly demarked by a traditional introduction (22:1) and conclusion (23:28-30). There is very little dispute about the material within these two points. The consensus of scholarship seems to indicate that it should be treated as part of

the Josiah material.⁴ We will adopt this position in our analysis of the material within 22:1 and 23:30.

2. Ahab and Josiah: Two extensive re-creations of the Prototype of Disfavour (Jeroboam and Favour (David))

Of the three pairs of kings to be discussed in this part of our study, Ahab and Josiah stand nearest to the prototypes of disfavour and favour respectively. These two kings are the best and indeed the most extensive reproductions of the prototypes. Ahab can be termed the 'second Jeroboam' even as Josiah is sometimes termed the 'second David.'

It can be safely argued therefore that most of the traditions now attached to Ahab and Josiah seem to presuppose those attached to Jeroboam and David. Indeed Ahab's flirtations with non-Yahwistic cults can be viewed as compounding the 'sin of Jeroboam,' just as Josiah extensive reforms of the temple recall the relationship created between David and the Ark and David and the temple. Whereas the idea of the temple is credited to David, Josiah is accorded the honour of reclaiming this important cultic institution for Yahweh, rescuing it from the domain of foreign gods.

This Ahab:Jeroboam and Josiah: David link serves to transform Ahab and Josiah into the kings whose cultic activities carry the type of national significance second only to those of Jeroboam and David. They are nothing short of re-creations of the two models built around Jeroboam and David. The extent of this re-creation can be illustrated by setting out the material relating to the four kings under our three basic themes.

Prototype

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Re-creation

<u>Model of Disfavour</u>	<u>Model of Favour</u>	<u>Ahab</u>	<u>Josiah</u>
Jeroboam is an usurper ruling over a legitimate part of the Davidic kingdom. (I Kings 12:26-27)	David who was elected to replace the rejected Saul is the legitimate ruler of all Israel (I Sam.6:20-23)	Ahab did evil in the sight of the Lord more than all that were before him. (I Kings 16:30) (He walked in the way of Jeroboam (16:31)	Josiah walked in the way of David his father (I Kings 22:2).
The house of Jeroboam will be cut off and destroyed from the face of the earth. (13:34)	The house of David will be established forever. (7:16,29)	Yahweh will make Ahab's house like the house of Jeroboam...and like the house of Baasha.	Before him was no king like him...(23:25)
Yahweh will : bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam cut off from Jeroboam every male both bond and free utterly consume the house of Jeroboam	There is a threat to the Davidic house from Ammon, Absalom, and a section of David's entourage Each threat is settled and David eventually hands over his kingdom in peace to Solomon (II Sam.9 - 20; I Kings 1-2)	Yahweh will : bring evil upon Ahab cut off from Ahab every male bond or free in Israel	Jerusalem and Judah are threatened with destruction, but Josiah is promised a peaceful death (22:18-20)
cause any one belonging to Jeroboam who dies in the city to be eaten by dogs, and any one who dies in the open country to be eaten by the birds raise up a king over Israel who will cut off the house of Jeroboam (ch.14:10,11,14)		any one belonging to Ahab who dies in the city the dogs shall eat; and any one of his who dies in the open country the birds of the air shall eat. (21:20b-24 cf also : 16:3-4)	

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

<u>Model of Disfavour</u>	<u>Model of Favour</u>	<u>Ahab</u>	<u>Josiah</u>
The bull images made by Jeroboam and declared the god(s) of the Exodus are illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence. (12:28-30)	The Ark is the (only legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (6:6-12b)	Ahab 'walked' in the sins of Jeroboam. (16:30)	
The altar at Bethel (with its bull symbol) will be desecrated and torn down. (13:1-3)	The Ark is the ancient legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence. (7:1-7)		
Jeroboam has done evil above all that were before him.. He has made for himself other gods and molten images 14:9)	The Ark is sent back to Jerusalem and is not exposed to the dangers and uncertainties facing David and his entourage on the run from Absalom. (15:29)	Ahab made an asherah. (16:33)	Josiah removed the asherah from the temple and destroyed it. (23:6)

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

The northern shrines of Dan and Bethel constitute an illegitimate cult. (12:30-33)	Jerusalem where the Ark is housed is the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult. (6:16-19)
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C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult (contd).

<u>Model of Disfavour</u>	<u>Model of Favour</u>	<u>Ahab</u>	<u>Josiah</u>
The non-Levitical priesthood of Bethel will be destroyed... (13:2a)	The cult of Jerusalem will be strengthened by the building of a temple to Yahweh. (7:12-13)	Ahab builds a house an altar for Baal in Samaria. (16:32)	Josiah carries out extensive reform of the Jerusalem cult. (23:1ff)
All Israel will go into exile because of the 'sin of Jeroboam'....	David buys the threshing floor of Araunah the site of the future temple. (II Sam.24:18ff)	Hi'el a Bethelite sacrifices his sons at the rebuilding of Jericho. (16:34)	Josiah abolishes child sacrifice (23:10)
i.e. the northern cult will be deprived of a worshipping community. (14:14-15)		The Prophets of Yahweh are killed and persecuted. (16:34)	Josiah extends his reform as far north as Bethel : a direct fulfilment of the words of the man of God (Yahweh's prophet) (23:15-20).

On the basis of the above outline it would seem that Ahab and Josiah are not only credited with extending the work of their prototypes (Jeroboam I and David), but each one adds a new dimension to the extension of the work of their prototype. Ahab is depicted as pushing the North farther away from legitimacy to the brink of destruction. Josiah on the other hand is credited with efforts that represent a gallant attempt to recapture all the elements of the legitimate Yahweh cult. Our task now is to examine the material relating to the two kings in the context of the three broad themes as set out above. It is to the Ahab material that we shall first turn.

(a) I Kings 16:29 - 22:40.

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

The threat against Ahab's house (21:20-24)

The threat against Ahab's house has been preserved in a context of a story that seems to be concerned with the preservation of land rights in ancient Israel.⁵ That a similar threat has been made against Jeroboam (14:10-14) and Baasha (16:2-4) raises the question of how far the threat is secondary to ch.21 (the Ahab material), simply placed there to provide it with an adequate context, and to place a negative element upon Ahab.⁶ Miller has argued that the narrative of ch.21 as it now stands, suggests that it was written at a time far removed from the events which are being described.⁷ If as he further claims, Elijah, Ahab and Jezebel were all later additions to the story, then the narrative in its

present form may be concerned more with the creation of Ahab and Jezebel into opponents of the Yahweh cult than with any legalistic or historical concerns of land rights.⁸ That the narrative may also be conditioned by the Jehu rebellion seems to strengthen the case for treating it primarily as a piece of polemical writing aimed at the house of Ahab.⁹

Long before we reach the threat of vss.19-24, the narrator in vss.1-16 credits strong negative characters to both Ahab and Jezebel. The reader is carefully 'won over' to the position that Ahab and Jezebel deserve the punishment meted out in the threat. But let us examine more closely the 'case against Ahab and Jezebel' that is understood to merit the destruction of Ahab's house.

Vs.1 sets the scene for the ensuing conflict between king and subject. The verse has come to play an important role in the several theories relating to the interpretation of the Naboth narrative. Miller finds in the verse much support for his theory of a later date for ch.21. This evidence, he claims, is reflected in the use of the term

לְנִבּוֹת הַיְיָ אֱלֹהֵי אֲשָׁר בְּיָדָאֵל as well as in the description of Ahab as מֶלֶךְ שְׁמֶרֶן.¹⁰ The verse has also led to speculation about Ahab's place of residence, with Napier finding evidence for listing Jezreel as the political capital of the Omride dynasty.¹¹

The verse seems however to be primarily concerned with the introduction of some important elements into the narrative. These elements are concerned with the creation of Ahab and Jezebel into villains and Naboth into a martyr. We

can hardly overlook the fact that Naboth is introduced not simply as Ahab's subject but as his neighbour.¹² The placing of his vineyard אֵץ הַיָּבֵל אֶחָב מֶלֶךְ שְׁמֶרֶן seems to suggest that the king - subject relationship is somehow superseded by that of man - neighbour.

The crucial importance of this relationship is captured in the (indirect) reference to the tradition governing ancestral property as set out in the words of Naboth in vs.3. The tradition is also reflected in Deut.19:14; Num.27:7-11; Jer.32:6-9 and Ru.4:9. It represents what has been termed an "Israelite ideal" as is manifested in the "Jealous retention of ancestral property in the family".¹³ We may note the law of Deut.19:14 which relates directly to the case of Naboth :

In the inheritance (כְּנָחֳלָתְךָ)
which you will hold in the land
that the Lord your God gives you
to possess, you shall not remove
your neighbour's landmark which
the men of old have set. (RSV)

This law seems to emphasize the sanctity of the נַחֲלָה and probably suggests that Yahweh is the real owner of the land which has been entrusted to each family in Israel.¹⁴ Hence Ahab in spite of the generous offer of vs.2 still stands in contradiction of this longstanding tradition in Israel. Naboth is the one who is depicted as upholding the tradition even in the face of a good offer from the king. If as Gray suggests the term חֲלִי'ָה used in the reply of Ahab (vs.3) suggests that "the course of action deplored was profane or wrong in the eyes of God",¹⁵ then Ahab and Naboth are presented as standing on opposite sides of the law of Yahweh.

The important role of Jezebel in the narrative has

been noted by several scholars.¹⁶ She soon replaces Ahab as chief protagonist in the narrative and so prepares the way for the specific threat against her in vs.23. Ahab only re-enters the narrative after the death of Naboth thus leaving the stage free for Jezebel. The actions of Jezebel are however clearly to be understood as those of a representative of Ahab. Hence the accusation of vs.19, הַרְצִיחַ אֶת-אֲחָב וְשָׂדֵה אֲחֵר . Ahab is here accused of both murder and possessing another man's property.

The threat of vss.19b-24 follows on naturally from the question of vs.19a. It goes beyond similar threats against Jeroboam (14:10-14) and Baasha (16:2-4) by including 'personal threats' against Ahab and Jezebel. Vss.19b and 23 can be treated as an extension of the content of vs.24.¹⁷ Vs.24 consist of a more or less general threat against Ahab built on the classic 'lack of burial'¹⁸ motif :

הָמָת לְאַחֲזָב בְּעִיר יֹאכְלוּ הַכְּלָבִים
וְהָמָת בַּשָּׂדֶה יֹאכְלוּ עוֹרָהּ הַשָּׂמִימִים

Vs.19b seems to be an attempt to apply this judgement by the dogs directly to Ahab. Indeed vs.19b seems to exist in a stronger form by the presence of a messenger formula

(כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה) as well as by being in the form of a Yahweh speech.¹⁹ The citing of the dogs as what Dietrich terms the

Strafmittel Jahwes²⁰ adds a new dimension to the punishment of Ahab and his dynasty. It also becomes one of utter

rejection from society given the role of dogs in ancient

Israel and the Ancient Near East.²¹ The dogs should probably only be understood as the instrument of judgement, Yahweh being the one who 'requites' the blood of Naboth.

It seems as if Yahweh through his representative Elijah, is undoubtedly being presented here as the גֹּאֲלֵ הַדָּם of Naboth. This seems to be supported by the kinship text of II Kings 9:26.²² In the latter text, treated by some scholars as an earlier tradition upon which the narrator of ch.21 drew,²³ Yahweh is clearly presented as גֹּאֲלֵ הַדָּם of Naboth. This is reflected in the term וְשָׁלַחְתִּי לָהּ
 24
 בְּחִלָּקָהּ הַזֹּאת נָא-יְהוָה . Indeed the claim that Naboth's sons were also killed may point to a tradition which claims that there was no one to requite his blood. In the light of the tradition of II Kings 9:26, I Kings 21:19b casts this duty directly upon Yahweh.

The threat against Jezebel gives further credence to Yahweh's duty as the גֹּאֲלֵ הַדָּם of Naboth. The threat is quite terse :

וְגַם-לְאִיּוֹנָה דָּפַר יְהוָה לְאֹמֶר הַכִּלְכִּים
 יֹאכֵלֶה אֶת-אִיּוֹנָה בְּחֵל יִזְרְעֵאל

There seems to be some increase in the intensity of the judgement as one moves from vs.19b to vs.23. What the dogs seem to have as a possibility in vs.19b, is stated in a more realistic and judgemental manner in vs.23. It seems as if Jezebel is being here portrayed as the greater culprit.

When combined, the threat against Ahab (vs.19) and Jezebel (vs.23) becomes a threat against the house of Ahab. King and queen are not only to be killed but also degraded in death. The removal of the king from the royal household constitutes nothing short of the disintegration of the dynasty which he represents. This is further spelt out in vss.22 and 24. As if to leave no doubt about the finality of the divine judgement, the narrator stresses the fate of the

individuals of Ahab's household. Thus king, queen and their descendants are all to meet the judgement of Yahweh.

Vss. 21, 22 and 24 contain some stereotyped threats which unlike those of vss. 19b and 23, seem to bear little direct relationship to the story of Naboth's murder. Here the fate to be meted out to Ahab's dynasty is probably to be understood as being for the same reason as those against Jeroboam (14:10-14) and Baasha (16:2-4). Gray has drawn our attention to the difference between the two types of threats to be found in the Ahab material. He points to the "striking...coarse imagery" of vss. 19b and 23 and the more "stereotyped colourless Deuteronomic condemnation of the various kings".²⁵ It has been suggested that the latter probably reflects prophetic opposition to hereditary monarchy in northern Israel.²⁶

It is possible however that these threats along with the others oppose monarchy in Israel on other grounds. The opposition may have stemmed not from any concept of hereditary monarchy, but rather from the conviction that there is only one legitimate monarchy in Israel, that of the Davidic house. We may note that the threats of vss. 21, 22 and 24 are made in very close relationship to Israel's secession from the house of David and the setting up of rival shrines (cf. also 14:10-14; 16:2-4). There is therefore a threat of illegitimacy running through all three dynasties by virtue of their adherence to the schism of Jeroboam. The supreme manifestation of this schism was of course worship at rival shrines outside of Jerusalem.²⁷

Historically, the ultimate fate of the dynasty of Ahab was probably determined by forces that were superior

militarily to those that it could have raised. Its fate must have therefore been settled in the context of one of the many power struggles that characterized kingship in the North.²⁸ Within 21:19-24 the fate of the dynasty is however presented as the consequence of a divine threat issued against Ahab and Jezebel. This threat not only seeks to account for the removal of the dynasty from Israel, but at the same time gives a theological opinion on the dynasty. It is viewed in a very similar light to that of Jeroboam which is the prototype upon which the dynasty of Ahab is built. In similar fashion it is presented as being fit only for destruction.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

There are at least two clear references to Jeroboam's bull symbols in the Ahab material. The first is in 16:31a, the second in 21:22b. Taking the last reference first, 21:22b constitutes an accusation against Ahab used to support the destruction of his house in vs.22a. It seems however that the accusation is wider than Ahab's violation of Naboth's rights as set out in vss.1-16. This is clearly captured in reasons given as support of the threat of vs.22a.

(vs.22a) Threat: וְנִתְּתִי אֶת-בֵּיתָהּ כְּבֵית זִרְבָּדִים

(vs.22b)(i) Accusation אֶל-הַפֶּסֶס אֲשֶׁר הִקְצַסְתָּ
(reason)

(vs.22c) (ii) Accusation וַתִּחַטָּא אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל
(reason)

Of special interest to us is the phrase וַתִּחַטָּא אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל .

Using the hiphil of the verb אָנָן the phrase or a variant occurs some twenty-one times between I Kings 14:16 and II Kings 23:15. It can be viewed as one of the stock phrases of I & II Kings that is used invariably to refer to Jeroboam's schismatic action of setting up the rival shrines of Dan and Bethel. It can also refer to later kings' participation in Jeroboam's cultic policy. Used as it is in vs.22b, it points to Ahab's close association with the cultic schism started by Jeroboam.

The first part of the accusation, $\text{אֵל-הַקָּדוֹשׁ אֲשֶׁר הִקְדַּשְׁתָּ}$ is used in several places to describe the effect of Jeroboam's אָנָן upon Yahweh (cf. 14:9; 16:2). There seems little doubt that through the direct reference to Jeroboam in vs.22, the narrator may be accusing Ahab of supporting the shrines of Dan and Bethel where the illegitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence was to be found.²⁹

The link between Ahab and Jeroboam is far more direct in 16:31. Here we are told of Ahab's casual approach to the sin of Jeroboam :

$\text{וַיְהִי הַנֶּגֶל לָקֵחוֹ בְּחַטָּאת
יִרְבָּעָם בֶּן-נִבְטָן}$

the consequence of which is what for the narrator seems a greater sin : his marriage to Jezebel. The historical and political ramifications of this marriage are beyond the immediate scope of our present discussion.³⁰ Our main concern is how Jezebel functions in 16:31 and indeed the rest of the Ahab material as a symbol of an alien cult, and is consequently made to represent a threat to the legitimate Yahweh cult. Indeed it seems as if this threat can be compared to that resulting from Jeroboam's setting up of his

rival shrines. Indeed Ahab's serving of Baal is presented as one of the many effects brought on by his marriage to Jezebel (vs.31b).

The making of an Asherah (16:33a) is probably the only act of Ahab that can be truly compared to Jeroboam's making of calf symbols. Both calf and Asherah represent the presence of deity. There has been wide discussion on the function of the Asherah in the religions of the Ancient Near East.³¹ From the biblical material we learn that this cultic object could take the form of a tree (cf. Deut.12:3; II Kings 23:6; Jud.6:2; Mic.5:13) but could also be made as I Kings 16:33 seems to indicate. (cf. also II Kings 17:16). Pedersen has pointed out that in these two passages the name 'Asherah' probably refers to an idol (פֶסֶל הָאֲשֵׁרָה) representing the goddess who was thought to constitute the life of the tree.³²

It is known from Ancient Near Eastern material that sometimes Asherah appears as a goddess alongside two others, Astarte and Anat.³³ In the Ugaritic material it is Astarte the goddess of fertility who is the consort of Baal.³⁴ In the Old Testament however, it is Asherah who seems to be the consort of Baal (cf. I Kings 18:19; II Kings 21:7; 23:6). This may suggest that here she is being identified with Astarte.

This identification carries some implications for our interpretation of 16:33a. What Ahab is accused of doing in this verse is creating the counterpart of Baal who could already be readily identified with the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel.³⁵ He therefore completes what Jeroboam started. But there can also be another interpretation. The introduction

of an Asherah in the northern religion can be viewed as an introduction of a female element into a religion dominated by the 'maleness' of Yahwah and Baal. We may note however that unlike the calves made by Jeroboam there is no hint that the Asherah of 16:33a functioned as a Yahweh symbol. But given the close association between Baal (symbolized by the young bull) and Asherah (symbolized by a pole etc.), there is also a possibility that the Asherah could be thought to represent Yahweh or some specific dimension of his relationship to Israel.³⁶ If so, the Asherah in 16:32a like the bull symbols of Jeroboam can be seen to represent an illegitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

In the Jeroboam material, the narrative of 12:28-33 spells out the crucial cultic prerequisites absent from the northern cult. There is also specific mention of the introduction of certain alien Canaanite cultic elements by Jeroboam like, for example, the priests of the אֲשֵׁרָה (12:32b). In the Ahab material, the illegitimacy of the northern cult is presented primarily in terms of Ahab's consolidation of the Canaanite influence already present as well as in terms of Ahab's and Jezebel's hostile attitudes towards the legitimate Yahweh religion.

Under the first area we may note three important actions :

- (a) The building of a house for Baal in Samaria (16:32b);
- (b) The erection of an altar to Baal (16:32a);
- (c) The child sacrifice of Hi'el (16:34).

Ahab's building of a **בֵּית הַבַּעַל** is presented as one of the many cultic acts that were products of his marriage to Jezebel. The motif of the foreign wife leading the king astray i.e. to worship her god(s), recalls I Kings 11:1ff where Solomon's wives are said to have had the same influence on him.³⁷ But Ahab's actions seem to go beyond those of Solomon in the erection of a house (temple) for Baal. Vs.32b at once shifts the focus from Dan and Bethel to Samaria. It now seems as if Samaria, at least in the Ahab material, is the great cultic rival to Jerusalem. Hence the **בֵּית הַבַּעַל** in Samaria stands over against the **בֵּית יְהוָה** in Jerusalem.

It seems however that Ahab's 'raising up' (**וַיָּקֶם**) of a **מִזְבֵּחַ** in **בֵּית הַבַּעַל** is given great significance in the narrative. There seems to be some discussion on how the word **מִזְבֵּחַ** should be interpreted here. As Gray points out, it can mean altar if the preposition **בְּ** is understood, but possibly means 'place of sacrifice' with **בֵּית הַבַּעַל** in apposition.³⁸ However it is interpreted, the phrase **וַיָּקֶם מִזְבֵּחַ** represents for the narrator one of the high points of Ahab's apostasy. Baal becomes officially established in Samaria adding a new dimension to the illegitimacy of the northern cult.

The report of vs.34 projects two negative elements onto the northern cult. The first element is the rebuilding of Jericho, which in the light of Jos.2:26 brings a curse upon the one responsible for so doing. Although as Eichrodt points out, there are some problems concerning the relationship between I Kings 16:34 and Josh.2:26,³⁹ it is widely

accepted that the curse of Josh.2:26 is here being explained in terms of a local tradition about Hiel.⁴⁰

The second negative element of vs.34 is to be found in the report of the fate of Hiel's sons. The text reads :

בְּיָמָיו בָּנָה חִיָּאל בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִי אֶת-יְרִיחוֹ
בְּאֶבְיָרָם בָּכְרוֹ יִסָּדָהּ וּבְשִׁגְיָב צָעִירוֹ הָצִיב
דָּלְתֶיהָ

The problems of this verse revolve largely around the interpretation of בְּאֶבְיָרָם בָּכְרוֹ and וּבְשִׁגְיָב צָעִירוֹ. Montgomery renders the entire verse:

Hielbuilt Jericho: he laid its
foundation in his eldest son Abiram
and set up its doors in his youngest
son Segub. 41

Burney has suggested that the proposition כ attached to the names אֶבְיָרָם and שִׁגְיָב should be rendered 'at the cost of'.⁴² But how is this phrase to be understood?

Noth has suggested that Hiel's sons were killed in the rebuilding of Jericho, an act which later came to be interpreted as the judgement of Yahweh.⁴³ Burney on the other hand thinks that Hiel sacrificed his sons by enclosing them alive in the foundation and the wall as an attempt to secure the prosperity of the city.⁴⁴ The latter interpretation is probably the one intended by the narrator. If so, one of the most despicable cultic elements of the ancient world, human sacrifice,⁴⁵ is projected onto the North during the era of Ahab. The use of the term בְּיָמָיו links Ahab directly to the actions of Hiel. The king is thus made responsible for yet another significant move away from the legitimate Yahweh cult.

The story of Elijah's struggle against the prophets of Baal and their supporters Ahab and Jezebel can be viewed as

highlighting another dimension to the illegitimacy of the northern cult.⁴⁶ Indeed Ahab, Jezebel and Elijah are pictured as being locked in 'continued and violent conflict'.⁴⁷ The struggle of the prophet is therefore to be understood as a struggle to uproot the religion of Baal and reinstate the legitimate religion of Yahweh in the North.

Although the narrative of I Kings 18-19 focuses primarily on the prophet Elijah and 'expresses the high esteem and veneration for the prophet and master,'⁴⁸ a strong underlying theme seems to be the extent to which the religion of Yahweh degenerated in the North during the reign of Ahab. But the narrative goes beyond this negative feature to recount the dramatic attempts of Elijah to regain some ground for Yahweh. Along with the strong opposition to Baal, we therefore also have a demonstration of the power of Yahweh.⁴⁹ The exact identity of the Baal in chs. 18-19 is not crucial for our present discussion.⁵⁰ As the narrative now stands, he symbolizes an alien cultic force that threatens the legitimate Yahweh cult.

We may note some details of the narrative that seem to underline the level of Baalism in the North. One crucial detail is the death of the Yahweh prophets. In 18:13 Obadiah reports the death of some Yahweh prophets to Elijah and the escape of others from the same fate.⁵¹ We may note that it is Jezebel who is accused of killing the prophets of Yahweh. She rather than Ahab, is here portrayed as the archvillain.

There is however a dramatic shift in responsibility in 19:10,14. Here it is the לְיִשְׂרָאֵל who are accused of rejecting the legitimate Yahweh cult. This seems to be the

very opposite of the strength of the Baal cult as set out in 16:31-34. The words of Elijah in 19:10 constitute a barometer of the level of the Yahweh cult within the Ahab era. But the verse contains at least four clear accusations against the North.

The first touches on the covenantal relationship between Israel and Yahweh :

פִּי-עֲזָבוּ בְרִיתָהּ בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל

Here the narrator evokes covenantal theology and responsibility to emphasize the gulf between the religion of the North and Yahweh's cultic demands. The infidelity of בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is to be contrasted with the zeal of Elijah powerfully expressed in the phrase : קָנָא קִנְאָתִי לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי זָבָאוֹת . Gray's rendering of the whole phrase :

I have been a very fanatic for Yahweh
God of hosts, yet the Israelites have
forsaken thy covenant... 52

captures the sharp contrast between Elijah's prophetic ministry and Israel's covenantal infidelity.

This infidelity receives further expansion in the second accusation levelled at the North. This reads :

בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-מִזְבְּחֹתַיָּהוּ הָרָסוּ

The action credited here to the people is directly opposite to that credited to Elijah in 18:30. In that latter case we are told that the prophet of Yahweh הָרָה הֶהָרִים . The people are therefore reported in 19:10 as reversing part of what the prophet of Yahweh had put right in the North. Their act of destroying the altars of Yahweh underlines the element of illegitimacy that is being constantly projected onto the cult of the North.

In the third accusation being levelled against the cult of the North, the perilous nature of being a prophet in this part of Israel during the Ahab era is stressed. Once more this accusation,

וְאֶת-נְבִיאֵי הָרֶגֶוֹ בְּחָרֹב

stands in direct contrast to an action of Elijah, i.e. his removal of the prophets of Baal (18:40). This treatment of the prophets of Yahweh is clearly to be understood as a direct assault upon the legitimate Yahweh religion in the North. The removal of Yahweh's prophets constitutes the removal of a crucial element of the Religion of Yahweh. A nation without prophets in the context of Samuel-Kings, is one that is unable to heed the message of Yahweh as this is delivered through his legitimate prophet.

That Elijah is to be understood as Yahweh's legitimate prophet at work in the North is stated in our fourth and final accusation :

וְאַתָּה אֲנִי לְבָדִי וְיִבְרָשִׁי אֶת-נַפְשִׁי לְקַחְתָּהּ

The attack launched against the religion of Yahweh in the North is now presented here as a direct attack upon Elijah. We can note that it is once more Israel as opposed to the royal household, who is accused of seeking to endanger the prophet of Yahweh. This action by the people clearly points to the nature of the religion which they possess. Indeed it seems to suggest that their religion is contrary to the true legitimate religion of Yahweh as demonstrated by his prophets, especially by Elijah.⁵³

The repeat of the accusation of vs.10 in vs.14 may

point to far more than a 'dogmatic gloss' as suggested by Föhrer.⁵⁴ We may have at work here, the technique of repetition, which as Gray points out is one of the 'regal features' of saga.⁵⁵ This seems to function in vs.14 to re-emphasise the narrator's main theme: the extent to which the legitimate Yahweh cult was being erased from the North.

All of the material discussed under this section seems to stress the extent to which the Yahweh cult was eroded in the North during the reign of Ahab. It is presented as an era in which alien religious elements were introduced into the North, and patronised by Ahab and Jezebel (cf. I Kings 16:31ff; 19:1ff; 21:5ff). But the persecution of Yahweh's prophets (19:1ff) is surely the true indicator in the material of the level of cultic degeneration. At the same time, the persecution of Yahweh's prophets like the introduction of alien cultic elements, brings the nation one step closer to disaster. The place of the illegitimate Yahweh cult is also the place which continues to sow the seeds of its own destruction.

(b) II Kings 22:1-23:30

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Of all the kings of the Davidic line, Josiah easily qualifies as the one who comes nearest to the Deuteronomic idealistic model of David.⁵⁶ He constitutes the almost perfect paradigm of the Davidic prototype. Evans has however suggested the reverse, i.e. that David had been modelled on Josiah.⁵⁷ This view is based on the presupposition that Josiah rather than David is the model upon whom most of the good kings are based.

There is however a very strong possibility that David as an ideal king was a Judean tradition prior to the time of Josiah.

If so, Josiah is created into a new David, rather than David into a Josiah.⁵⁸ Josiah then, is not simply a member of Israel's only legitimate dynasty, but is presented as the best reproduction of his ancestor David. Nearness to the Davidic ideal functions in the Josianic material as an important element of dynastic legitimacy. Josiah's dynastic legitimacy is underlined, not through his geneological connection to David, but rather through his adoption of the 'way of David' (21:2), i.e. the cultic persuasions of David his ancestor.

None of the other Davidic kings are credited with the type of devotion to the 'way of David' as Josiah is. But this term is probably far more than a terse comment on the king's cultic attitudes. As it is used here in the Josianic material, the 'way of David' may also be emphasising Josiah's indisputable claims to be a model representative of Israel's only legitimate dynasty, the Davidic dynasty.

Cult and dynasty is inextricably bound up and becomes the basis upon which dynastic legitimacy is projected onto Josiah. Being faithful to Yahweh and to the 'way of David,' becomes the twin criteria for judging the legitimacy of the Davidic line. The promise of a peaceful death which comes as a direct result of the king's piety also helps to cement the close ties between cult and dynasty (22:18-20). Although this promise does not 'square' with history, at a literary-theological level, it functions in the material to strengthen the creation of Josiah into the ideal Davidic representative of the model of favour.

Just as Ahab and Jezebel are created into villains strongly opposed to the Yahweh cult, so Josiah the ideal Davidic king is given exemplary praise as a devout follower of Yahweh

(23:25). He is placed far above the kings of both North and South. Attention has been drawn to a similar phrase in Deut.34:10 and in II Kings 18:5.⁵⁹ Nelson claims that in this phrase we may be dealing with an element in courtly praise similar to that found in Neh.2:3.⁶⁰ Whatever its origin, the phrase as it now stands in II Kings 23:25, can hardly be thought to weaken Josiah's presentation as an ideal Davidic model. As an undivided unit,⁶¹ the verse draws on Deuteronomic theology to stress Yahweh's perfect Davidic king. Hence vs.25 cannot be divorced or separated from 22:2. Both underline the nature of the ideal king born of Israel's (only) legitimate dynasty, the Davidic dynasty. There is therefore a strong possibility in understanding all the piety credited to Josiah as that of a 'second David' bent on returning all Israel, both North and South, to the ways of Yahweh.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

In the first part of our study we have shown how the Ark becomes a crucial factor in the development of the models of kingship. Thus David's close association with the Ark becomes one of the important factors contributing to his development as a model of favour. On the other hand, the rejection of the Ark as well as its replacement by two bull symbols are two the crucial elements that contribute to the development of Jeroboam into a model of disfavour.⁶² But the reference to the Ark in the Jeroboam material is only indirect.⁶³ Once one moves beyond the Solomonic material one must assume that the Jerusalem temple which now houses the Ark, is to be understood as the visible legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence. As Solomon's prayer suggests, it is with וְיָהוָה יֵשֵׁב בֵּין יְדֵיכָם (I Kings 8:31-33 passim) that Yahweh's

power to save as well as his presence is to be linked.⁶⁴

Given the above, it is not at all surprising that the model of kingship in the South is largely determined by the king's attitude to the temple. This attitude as pointed out by Hoffmann can be presented under the broad theme of 'positive' and 'negative' reforms.⁶⁵ The positive ones resulting in the strengthening of the Yahweh cult through repair and reform, as well as the removal of alien cultic elements from the temple, the negative ones introducing alien cultic elements into the temple.⁶⁶

Between I Kings 15:9 and II Kings 23, no less than six of the eleven kings within this section are closely linked to the temple. Four of them, Asa, Jehoash (Joash), Hezekiah and Josiah are accorded a positive association with the temple, while Ahaz and Manasseh are credited with a negative association. The fortune of the temple from Asa to Josiah can therefore be chartered through the actions of six kings :

Positive association with Temple

Asa: brought votive gifts of his father and his own votive gifts, silver, gold, and vessels into the temple
(I Kings 15:15)

Joash: carries out extensive repairs to temple.
(II Kings 12)

Hezekiah: removes Nehushtan from temple. Demands worship at Jerusalem alone.
(II Kings 18:4,22)

Negative association with Temple

Ahaz: places alien altar in the temple and removes important cultic objects.
(I Kings 16:10-18)

Manasseh: Builds alien altars in temple. Places Ashera in temple.
(II Kings 21:4,7).

Josiah: he repairs temple. Removes
 Ashera, vessels, and alien
 altars from temple.
 (II Kings) 23:2ff)

From the above outline, Josiah's relationship with the temple can be viewed as the final stage of the mixed relationship between kings and temple.⁶⁷ Indeed the work on the temple credited to Josiah seems to be the culmination of that of Asa (I Kings 15:9-15), Josah (II Kings 12), and Hezekiah (II Kings 18:4,22). Viewed from another angle, it constitutes the final thrust against the reversals of Ahaz and Manasseh. It is nothing short of the return of the *בית יהוה* to its legitimate central place. We can safely claim that as the relationship between David and the Ark affirms the central place of this cultic object in the legitimate Yahweh cult,⁶⁸ so Josiah's relationship with (i.e. his reform of) the temple affirms the important cultic status of this central Yahweh shrine. This relationship consists of a number of elements, all of which affirm the crucial importance of the temple as the symbol of Yahweh's power and presence.

The first element is Josiah's command to repair the temple (22:3-7,9). These verses reintroduce the 'temple repair' theme of the Joash material. This material has been attributed to an official archival source, like that about Joash's repair of the temple in II Kings 12.⁶⁹ Mayes has however rejected this argument for the origin of the material in 22:3-7,9 describing it as 'a story created for its present context and directly based on II Kings 12:9-16'.⁷⁰ Hoffmann has also pointed to some close parallels between 22:4b-7 and 12:10b, 12ff,15ff, claiming like Mayes, that the former is based upon

the story of II Kings 12.⁷¹ The function of 22:3-7,9 can then be interpreted in two distinct ways. Firstly it sustains the 'positive' temple theme that is reflected in the Joash and Hezekian material,⁷² and secondly it reinforces the image of Josiah the pious king.

The account of 22:3-7,9 seems to be concerned primarily with the 'fabric' of the temple. It presents the king as a type of patron of the temple cult which seems to suggest that the upkeep of the temple is understood to be heavily dependent upon the generosity and initiative of the king.⁷³ The pericope seems a bit meticulous about the chain of command that is necessary to produce the desired repairs of the temple. The command moves from the king, to the secretary to the house of the Lord, to the high priest, to the masters of the works, and finally to those who undertake temple work. The presence of this chain of command probably represents an attempt to preclude the theme of delay that is present in the story of 12:4ff. Josiah somewhat unlike Joash, emerges therefore as one whose desire and command to repair the temple met with a firm and positive response. The mention of the honesty of the workmen (vs.7) seems to support this as well.

The second element which touches on the status of the temple, is the report of the finding of the סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה בְּבֵית יְהוָה (vs.8). The complex question relating to the exact identity and content of this 'book' is outside of the scope of our present discussion.⁷⁴ Of special interest to us is the role of the temple as the place where סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה is found. Much of the discussion on the relationship between the book and the temple has centered around the question of

how this book happens to be in the Jerusalem temple during the reign of Josiah. Hence the theory that it originated in the North, was brought to Jerusalem after the fall of Samaria in 721 B.C, was suppressed during the reign of Manasseh and was hidden in the temple.⁷⁵ This theory has not however been without its critics.⁷⁶

There seems to be an important theological link between סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה and בְּיַת יְהוָה in ch.22. As the text now stands, there is no hint of the history or origin of the book before it is discovered in the temple. The temple therefore becomes the matrix out of which the תּוֹרַת יְהוָה emerges to king and people. It is highly possible that we have several ideas drawn from other traditions at work here. One idea is the encounter between the people and the תּוֹרַת יְהוָה as this is present in the Sinai traditions. If indeed a parallel can be drawn between the two events, then the temple emerges as a 'new Sinai' from where Yahweh's law for his people originates, and is promulgated (23:1-3).⁷⁷ Josiah therefore becomes a 'new Moses', demanding that the people keep the law of the book (23:21-23; cf. Ex.24:3ff; also Deut.5:1ff).

Another tradition that seems to be reflected in the relationship that is created between תּוֹרַת יְהוָה and the temple, is that of the Ark as the place where תּוֹרַת יְהוָה is kept. Several scholars have drawn our attention to the way in which the Ark in I Kings 8:9 is transformed from being the throne of Yahweh, to being simply a receptacle for the tables of the law.⁷⁸ But if indeed the temple assumes the role of the Ark as the legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence,⁷⁹ then the temple in ch.22 is probably also being made to assume the important cultic task as container of

מִוֶּרֶת יְהוָה . The so-called Deuteronomic 'name theology' that is projected onto the ark in I Kings 8:9, and the temple in 8:29,⁸⁰ may also be reflected in II Kings 22:8. The finding of מִוֶּרֶת יְהוָה in the temple seems to maintain the clear distinction between Yahweh and his demands that could be symbolized by his written laws.

The third element of the Josiah-temple relationship that functions to reaffirm the temple as the symbol of Yahweh's power and presence, is the reform of the temple cult. There are five distinct measures which together constitute a return to legitimacy of the temple cult. These are:

- (a) The removal from the temple of all the vessels made for Baal, Asherah and all the host of heaven. Their burning outside of Jerusalem and the taking of their ashes to Bethel. (23:4)
- (b) The removal of the Asherah from the temple and its burning outside of Jerusalem. (vs.6)
- (c) The destruction of the houses of the cult prostitutes that were built in the temple. (vs.7)
- (d) The removal of the horses of the sun from the entrance to the temple. (vs.11)
- (e) The removal of the altars built by Ahaz and Manasseh⁸¹ in the temple. (vs.12)

Each measure adds a peculiar dimension to the return of the temple cult to full legitimacy. The first measure (vs.4) identifies three deities that were worshipped alongside Yahweh in the temple. These are בַּעַל, אֲשֵׁרָה וְכָל צִבְאָה נְשָׁמִים .

This triad reflects the deep penetration of alien cults into the Jerusalem cult. Gressmann contends that the deities here mentioned were Assyrian Gods, partly basing his argument on the demand of Assurbanipal that offerings should be made to similar Assyrian Gods.⁸² But as Montgomery/Gehman have pointed out, the terminology of vs.4 is Palestinian

rather than Assyrian as is supported by the Ugaritic material.⁸³ On the other hand, it is possible that vs.4 does reflect the entrance of alien deities into the Jerusalem cult at some stage.⁸⁴

The exact meaning of the term קַל צִבְאָה נְשָׁמָיִם is still the subject of debate. It is well known that astral deities were widespread among the religions of the Ancient Near East, with several being mentioned in the Old Testament tradition (cf. Jer. 7:17-18; 44:16-19).⁸⁵ Some scholars claim that the term is similar to one found in the Ugaritic material which is usually translated 'host of the sun'.⁸⁶ As used in 23:4, the term is probably to be understood as a collective term for those heavenly bodies that were thought to possess divine power.⁸⁷

In all five measures, the restoration of the temple's purity and legitimacy is achieved through the destruction of cultic objects that were thought to desecrate the temple.⁸⁸ The totality of the destruction is heavily emphasized. Thus we read that קַל-הַכִּלִּים and Asherah, Baal and the host of heaven are brought out in the temple :

וַיִּשְׂרְפוּם מִחוּץ לִירוּשָׁלַם בְּשַׁדְמוֹת קִדְרוֹן
וַנִּשָּׂא אֶת-עֲפָרָם בֵּית-אֵל

If the burning (וַיִּשְׂרְפוּם) of the vessels points to their total destruction, the occurrence of this act מִחוּץ לִירוּשָׁלַם emphasizes the complete break between the temple and the cults represented by these objects. The latter part of vs.4, וַנִּשָּׂא

אֶת-עֲפָרָם בֵּית-אֵל , completes the totality of the destruction: If this is indeed a later addition, those responsible for its entry into the text leave the reader in no doubt about the comprehensive nature of Josiah's reform of the temple cult.⁸⁹

The details of the fate met by the Asherah in the temple (vs.6) betray the narrator's concern with the total destruction of alien cultic objects that were to be found in the temple.⁹⁰ We may note these details :

- (a) וַיִּצָא אֶת-הָאֲשֵׁרָה מִבַּיִת יְהוָה מִחוּץ
לִירוּשָׁלַם אֶל-בְּחַל קִדְרוֹן
- (b) וַיִּשְׂרֹף אֹתָהּ בְּבַחַל קִדְרוֹן
- (c) וַיִּדָּק לְעָפָר
- (d) וַיִּשְׁלֶךְ אֶת-עֲפָרָהּ עַל-קִבְרֵי הָעָם

This almost appears to be a classic case of 'overkill'. But no doubt it reflects the narrator's total rejection of the Asherah symbol in the temple of Yahweh. This female symbol of deity was out of place, as far as he is concerned, in the context of the legitimate Yahweh cult, a religion dominated by a male deity Yahweh himself.⁹¹

The narrator's attitude to the other cultic objects is reflected like his attitude to the Asherah, in the careful reporting of their destruction. Thus the houses of the male prostitutes are broken down (וַיִּתְּן), the chariots of the sun are burnt (וַיִּשְׂרֹף), and the pagan altars are pulled down (וַיִּנְתֵּן), broken in pieces (וַיִּפְּצֵם), and the ashes cast (וַיִּשְׁלֶךְ) into the Kidron (vss.7,11,12).⁹²

This wholesale removal of alien cultic objects from the temple can be interpreted not only as the demise of foreign cults in the temple cult and Judah,⁹³ but the re-elevation of the temple with Israel's ancient cultic object, the Ark. The crucial significance of the temple is therefore stressed before the great disasters of 24:13 and 25:9ff. If as Cross, Friedman and others have claimed, the reign of

Josiah marked the end of the first edition of the Deuteronomic history,⁹⁴ then it ended on a high note vis-a-vis the role of the temple in the legitimate Yahweh cult. But even the later reports of its total destruction do not remove its significance as it is presented in the Josianic material. For it still remains in spite of the later reports of its destruction, the supreme symbol of Yahweh's power and presence among his people.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Like the reform of the temple cult, that dealing with alien cults in Jerusalem and its environs stresses the removal of the elements of these alien cults. A number of reform measures can be noted :

- (a) The removal of the priests of the high places as well as those belonging to other alien cults (vss.5,8a).
- (b) The desecration of the high places from Geba to Beersheba (vs.8b).
- (c) The destruction of the בְּמֹת הַשָּׁעָרִים (vs.8b).
- (d) The prohibition of the priests of the high places to officiate at Jerusalem (vs.9).
- (e) The removal of the furnace⁹⁵ used for child sacrifice (vs.10).
- (f) The desecration of the high places built by Solomon East of Jerusalem (vs.13).
- (g) The removal of necromancers (vs.24).

These measures complement those that were concerned specifically with the temple.⁹⁶ Like them they represent a dramatic reversal for the alien cults of Judah and a strong reaffirmation of the centrality of the Yahweh cult. We may note that at least four of the measures are concerned with the בְּמֹת and/or

with their officials (cf. vss. 5, 8, 9, 13). This cult meets its nemesis in the representative par excellence of the model of favour, the reforming king Josiah.

The narrator seems to pay special attention to the removal of what for him are the illegitimate elements of the Jerusalem priesthood. The priests of all non-Yahwistic cults especially those of the high places, constitute these illegitimate elements. If the disposition of these priests represents a nullification of their priestly function, their ban from participation in the Jerusalem cult (vs. 9) represents a crucial move of the Jerusalem cult along the path to legitimacy. The cult is not only extricated from illegitimate alien elements, but given a surety of a future free of recontamination.

Given the fact that the priests as part of the cult constitute one of the crucial links between Yahweh and the nation, the purification of the Jerusalem priesthood is to be understood as a strengthening of the links between Yahweh and the nation. The vital channel once blocked, is now open again. This carries serious implications for the salvation and survival of the cult and indeed the nation in the context of Deuteronomic theology. The destruction of Jerusalem and the nation announced in 21:12-15 as the consequences of the sins of Manasseh, must now be held alongside the restoration of the Jerusalem cult to legitimacy, and the resultant hope this produces.

This element of hope is also at work in the report of the removal of the shrines of rival deities. The destruction of the high places 'from Geba to Beer-sheba' (vs. 8), like the desecration of Topheteh (vs. 10), constitute the removal of rivals to Yahweh's legitimate shrine at Jerusalem. The cult of Judah is freed of those elements which alienate Yahweh and the nation. A return to legitimacy is at the same time a re-creation of a good Yahweh-nation relationship.

The restoration to legitimacy is thus emphasised by the removal of a pantheon of Gods within Jerusalem and Judah.⁹⁷ These are:

- (a) בַּעַל
- (b) שֵׁמֶשׁ
- (c) יָרֵחַ
- (d) מַצֻּלֹת
- (e) כָּל צִבְיָא הַנְּשָׁמִים
- (f) בֵּית שֹׁמְרִים
- (g) אֲשֶׁרָה
- (h) כְּמוֹשׁ
- (i) מַלְכִּים

The removal of these deities symbolized by the destruction of their shrines, can only be interpreted as a return of Yahweh to full control of the land.⁹⁸ The cult of the South is thus returned to full legitimacy. A later hand extended this to include the cult of Bethel and the North as well (23:15-20).

The return to cultic legitimacy is emphasized by the report of the keeping of the Passover (23:21-23).¹⁰⁰ The celebration of the Passover can therefore be seen as the appropriate culmination of the events that were inaugurated with a covenant ceremony (vss.1-3). The narrator highlights the significance of the Passover in the new era brought on by Josiah's reformation, by stating that it was the first to be celebrated since the days of the Judges (vs.22).¹⁰¹

Some scholars explain Josiah's celebration of the Passover in the context of the national resurgence of Judah. Nicolsky argues that the celebration represents nationalistic feelings in the face of the growing threat of Egyptian hegemony.¹⁰² As such, the celebration of the Passover would

constitute a bit of anti-Egyptian propaganda.¹⁰³ It seems however that within the context of the report of the Josiah reform, the celebration of the passover can be understood as representing another dimension of Josiah's thrust against foreign cultic practices. The celebration of the passover constitutes the re-creation of an ancient bond linking Yahweh and Israel. At the same time, it is a bond which excludes all non-Yahwistic faith. The celebration marks a significant move back to Yahweh, a move away from destruction, to salvation.¹⁰⁴

The reform of Josiah represents the most powerful statement on the legitimacy of the cult of Jerusalem and the South since the Davidic material. This is articulated in terms of the removal of all alien cults and the return Israel's only legitimate cult, the cult of Yahweh. Josiah's greatest achievement, and one which is the most important for his creation into a model of favour, ensures that Jerusalem becomes once more, the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult.

3. Five common themes of the Ahab and Josianic material which function to create the kings as representatives of the model of disfavour (Ahab) and the model of favour (Josiah).

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

First theme

The King-Asherah relationship

Ahab builds an Asherah
(I Kings 16:33)

Josiah destroys the
Asherah in the temple,
and the one at Bethel
(II Kings 23:6, 15b)

We have already discussed these actions of the two kings.¹⁰⁵ Our primary concern now is how far this attitude

of the kings towards the Asherah functions to create them into specific royal models. Both kings are presented as being patrons of their national cults.¹⁰⁶ Ahab however becomes the first king to be accused of making an Asherah. Indeed the only other king to be reported as having made an Asherah is Manasseh (II Kings 21:23). In other words the worst northern king after Jeroboam and the worst Judaeen king stand as patrons of the cult of Asherah.

Although the making of an Asherah by Ahab is now embedded in a pericope listing his other sins (16:30-34), that it is the first report of its type about a king must give it some special significance.¹⁰⁷ If so, the comment of vs.33b should probably be treated as a specific comment arising out of the statement of vs.33a, rather than a more general one on the report of vss.30-32.¹⁰⁸ There seems to be little other reason for the comment which is very similar to the introduction in vs.30. Ahab's building of an Asherah helps to identify him as the most evil king to date in Israel.

It is against the background of the king-Asherah relationship in both the North and the South in the pre-Josianic era, that Josiah's relationship to the Asherah is to be interpreted. Indeed the relationship constitutes one of the important bases upon which the favourable image of Josiah is constructed.

We are able to trace the references to Asherah making in both the North and the South in the pre-Josianic era:

	<u>North</u>	<u>South</u>
(a)	The people make Asherim (I Kings 14:15)	Judah make Asherim (I Kings 14:23)
(b)	Ahab makes an Asherah (I Kings 16:33)	
(c)	The people make Asherim (II Kings 17:10,16)	Manasseh makes an Asherah (II Kings 21:3)

With the Asherah-making practice of the people and Ahab and Manasseh, we can compare the Asherah-destroying practice of Hezekiah (II Kings 18:4) and Josiah (II Kings 23:6,15). It is significant to note that unlike the action of Hezekiah which is restricted to the South (Jerusalem), Josiah's include both North and South. He reverses what the people and kings of North and South had done. What is even more important, his destruction of Asherah reverses the work of Ahab and Manasseh. This creates him into a representative of the model of kingship which is in direct contrast to the one represented by Ahab and Manasseh.

But if the making of Asherim pushes the nation away from Yahweh and salvation, and towards the brink of destruction (cf. II Kings 17:10,16), their destruction must surely be seen as a gallant attempt to direct the nation along the path to salvation. Josiah is credited with this gallant attempt and becomes not only a supreme representative of the model of favour, but one who makes every attempt to steer his nation away from destruction, and redirect it along the path to salvation. Ahab is credited with the very opposite. His making of an Asherah becomes one of the acts which pushes his kingdom along the path to inevitable destruction. Asherah-making with all the consequences it produces creates Ahab into a representative of the model of disfavour, just as Josiah's destruction of Asherim creates him into a supreme representative of the model of favour.

Second theme

The houses (temples) of Baal and Yahweh

Ahab builds a house (temple) for Baal (I Kings 16:32).

Josiah purifies the house (temple) of Yahweh (II Kings 23:4).

The king's relationship to the house (temple) of a particular god can function in the Samuel-Kings material as an indicator of the king's relationship to the god. This holds true the Ahab and Josianic material. Ahab's building of a house for Baal represents his allegiance to Baal, just as Josiah's purification of the Jerusalem temple is a powerful indicator of his allegiance to Yahweh.

Just as Ahab is the only northern king who is accused of making an Asherah (16:33), so he is the only one who is reported as building a house for Baal. Several scholars have interpreted the report at the historical level. Gray thinks it reflects either Ahab's accommodation of the religion of his wife Jezebel, or an 'expression of his liberal policy which was oriented to his Canaanite as well as his Israelite subjects.'¹⁰⁹

On a similar historical level of interpretation, Alt finds in vs.32b evidence to support the theory that during the Omride dynasty Samaria was used almost exclusively as the place of Baal worship. Jezreel, according to him, functioned as the centre of the Yahweh cult in the North.¹¹⁰ But as Wurthwein has pointed out, there are numerous problems which arise with this division of worship in Israel during the Omride era. I Kings 20:13ff-22:15ff seems to support a tradition that Samaria could be the residence of Yahweh prophets.¹¹¹

At the literary and theological levels however, the report of Ahab building a house for Baal constitutes one of the important features in the material which functions to create him a representative of the model of disfavour. This action can be contrasted with David's intentions to build a

house for Yahweh (II Sam.7), and also with Josiah's cleansing of Yahweh's house.

In contrast to Ahab's provision of a house for Baal, Josiah's removal of Baal objects from the temple can be understood as depriving Baal of a house. But given the close relationship which exist between gods and temples in the world of the Ancient Near East,¹¹² depriving Baal of a house can also be understood as a diminishing of his power. Josiah restores Yahweh to his rightful place in his house by removing all the objects of Baal which suggested that Baal had taken up residence there.

The links created between the kings and the houses of Baal (Ahab) and Yahweh (Josiah) shape them into representatives of the two contrasting models of kingship. Ahab as the one who provides a house for Baal emerges as the model of disfavour. He creates a permanent resting place for another god in the exclusive domain of Yahweh. In contrast, Josiah removes alien cultic objects from the temple of Yahweh and so returns this building to the exclusive domain of Yahweh. This above all else, creates him into a model of favour.

Third theme

The king's relationship to idols

Ahab went after idols
(I Kings 21:26).

Josiah removes idols from
the land (II Kings 23:24).

The accusation here levelled against Ahab, must be placed within the context of that of vs.25 which describes this king as the worst of all the kings of North and South. Vs. 26 occurs in a passage which has been attributed to the Deuteronomic redactor,¹¹³ and reflects the fundamental

Deuteronomic principle that Israel must always give total allegiance to Yahweh. There is no room for any other god.

Ahab stands accused of creating this room for other gods at the expense of allegiance to Yahweh. The gravity of this action is brought out through the comparison with the Amorites.¹¹⁴ But we are not simply given a comparison with the Amorites, we are also told of their displacement by Yahweh. A relationship seems to be created between their going after idols and their displacement by Yahweh. If so, it will carry some implications for our interpretation of the present accusation against Ahab.

The displacement theme can be understood to be at work at two levels in the Ahab material. Like the Amorites, Ahab by going after idols brings upon himself the consequences of displacement. Vss.27-29 seem to be an attempt to square these consequences with history. At the first level of the displacement theme, the personal level, Yahweh's judgement is tempered through the introduction of the theme of repentance. In other words, the consequences of the great sin of going after idols, can be tempered through repentance and a return to Yahweh.

Although Ahab's repentance brings a respite to him (vs.29), the consequences of his sin, his going after idols, will still be experienced by his dynasty. This is the second level at which the displacement theme functions. Although Ahab escaped, his dynasty did not (21:29b; II Kings 9:2ff; 10:1ff). Through the delay action of the consequences of Ahab's worship of idols, the narrator cleverly maintains Ahab as a representative of the model of disfavour.

In contrast to Ahab who went after idols, Josiah is credited with the removal of idols from the land. He creates the conditions in which total allegiance can be given to Yahweh. He adheres to the great Deuteronomic principle in contrast to Ahab who did not.

Adherence to this principle is cited as the context within which Josiah's removal of idols from the land is to be understood. This act is all part of Josiah's attempt to establish the words of the law book found in the temple by Hilkiah. Josiah is faithful to the law of Yahweh, which in Samuel-Kings is none other than the law of Deuteronomy.

The relationship which is said to exist between the two kings and idols, reflect the contrasting models of kingship which they represent. As the one who embraces the worship of idols, Ahab emerges as a representative of the model of disfavour. He represents the type of kingship which can only lead to disaster and destruction. But whereas Ahab's going after idols can be understood as one of the many sins which brings disaster to his kingdom and dynasty, Josiah's destruction of idols represent a gallant attempt to guide his kingdom away from disaster. Josiah's rejections of idols function in the Josianic material as one of the important elements which create Josiah into a representative of the model of favour.

Fourth theme

The King's attitude to child sacrifice

Ahab allows child sacrifice
(I Kings 16:34)

Josiah destroys
the place of child
sacrifice and
prohibits the custom
(II Kings 23:10)

The placing of an act of child sacrifice within the reign of Ahab is surely meant to be a criticism of this king. The event is reported within the context of what can be interpreted as a capital project which had the king's approval. That the event takes place "in his days" not only links Ahab with the actions of Hiel but also implicates him as well.¹¹⁵ The power invested in the kingship of Ahab is unable to prevent the most despicable of the alien cultic practices infiltrating the cult and the exclusive cultic domain of Yahweh. This reflects the lack royal power to champion the cause of Yahweh.

Josiah unlike Ahab, is presented as a champion par excellence of the cult of Yahweh. The important manifestation of this is his rejection and removal of non-Yahwistic cultic elements, among them the practice of child sacrifice. Josiah's desecration of Topheth represents another of his gallant attempts to halt the nation's slide to disaster and destruction, even as the presence of sacrifice during the Ahab era constitutes yet another sure sign of inevitable destruction.

The two kings on the basis of our present theme, emerge once more as representing contrasting models of kingship. The act of child sacrifice performed in Ahab's kingdom during his reign, helps to consolidate his image as a representative of the royal model of disfavour. Since the prevention of child sacrifice is one of the important reforming acts which returns the cult of the South, and redirects the nations back to the path of salvation, Josiah as the one directly responsible for all this becomes a supreme representative of the model of favour. The attitude of the kings to child

sacrifice creates them into ideal representatives of two contrasting models of kingship.

Fifth theme

The king-prophet relationship.

Ahab is hostile to the
prophet of Yahweh
(I Kings 21:20)

Josiah enquires of the
prophetess of Yahweh
(II Kings 22:13)

The prophets of Yahweh in the Ahab material are invariably portrayed as being in conflict with the king. The words which Elijah announce to Ahab in 17:1, seem to set the stage for a king-prophet confrontation. The words attributed here to Elijah also seem to put him in control of Ahab's kingdom. The power of the prophet is placed over against that of the king. The way is wide open for conflict to develop between king and prophet.

There seems however to be no direct reference to a hostile Ahab-prophet relationship. The nearest we get to this is in I Kings 21:20. Here in the narrative recounting Ahab's desire for Naboth's vineyard, and Jezebel's designs which led to the death of Naboth and Ahab's possession of the vineyard, Ahab addresses Elijah as his enemy. This functions in the narrative to sharpen the injustice meted out by Ahab and Jezebel to Naboth, but it can also be understood as an attempt by Ahab to place himself in the right by placing Elijah in the wrong.

On the basis of this understanding, Ahab's words constitute an expression of hostility towards Yahweh's prophet Elijah. The prophet is identified as the one responsible for the poor relationship between king and prophet. But given the negative image into which Ahab is created and

the role of the prophets as champions of Yahweh, the responsibility for the poor king-prophet relationship must surely be laid at the feet of Ahab. If as we argue above, the role of Elijah in the Naboth narrative reflects the idea of Yahweh as the avenger of the blood of the innocent,¹¹⁶ then Ahab's identification of Elijah as his enemy may also be extended to Yahweh. Hostility to Yahweh's prophet who announces this claim of Yahweh is also at the same time an expression of hostility towards Yahweh.

Josiah's relationship to the prophetess Huldah, seems to be the very opposite of that between Ahab and Elijah. Whereas the Ahab-Elijah relationship is filled with conflict generated by Ahab's rejection of the way of Yahweh (cf. I Kings 21:17ff), Josiah seeks after the prophetess Huldah in order to be absolutely clear of the way (will) of Yahweh.

This opens the possibility for the creation of a good relationship between Huldah and Josiah. The king is presented as one who is ready to listen to the prophetic word. This sets up another element of contrast between the two kings. Josiah's readiness to hear the prophetic word as delivered by Huldah Yahweh's legitimate prophetess, can be contrasted with Ahab's rejection of the message of Micaiah in I Kings 22. The two king-prophet relationships are credited with producing contrasting results. Ahab's rejection of the word of Micaiah leads to the defeat of his country in battle and his death (I Kings 22:29ff). Josiah's acceptance of the message of Huldah leads to an extensive reform (II Kings 23:1ff) and the promise of a peaceful death (I Kings 22:18-20).

The two kings are once more created into representa-

tives of the two contrasting models of kingship. Through the use of the common motif, 'the king-prophet relationship,' hostility to Yahweh's prophet shapes Ahab into a representative of the model of disfavour, just as Josiah's resort to Huldah can function to create him into a representative of the model of favour.

All of the themes discussed in section three, can be related to the three basic themes discussed in section two. Although none of the five themes of section four were drawn out of the first of the three basic themes, i.e., 'Israel legitimate dynasty,' we shall include this theme in our following outline in order to maintain the link between our discussion in sections three and four. The relationship between the two sections can be set out as follows:

Model of Disfavour

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Ahab did evil in the sight of Yahweh.....(and) walked in the sins of Jeroboam. (I Kings 16:30-31).

Yahweh will bring evil upon Ahab, and will cut off from him every male (I Kings 21:21).

Model of Favour

Josiah did what was right in the eyes of Yahweh and walked in the way of David his father (II Kings 22:2).

Yahweh promises Josiah a peaceful death (II Kings 22:20).

B. The legitimate representative of Yahweh's power and presence

Ahab walked in the sins of Jeroboam (I Kings 16:30).

Josiah removes all alien cultic elements from the temple (II Kings 23:4ff).

First Theme

The king-Asherah relationship

Ahab builds an Asherah (I Kings 16:33).

Josiah destroy the Asherah in the Jerusalem temple, and the one at Bethel (II Kings 23:6,15).

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Ahab (and Jezebel) strengthens the cult of Baal in the North (I Kings 16:31).

Josiah reforms the Yahweh cult in Jerusalem and Judah (II Kings 23:1ff).

Second Theme

The houses (temples) of Baal and Yahweh

Ahab builds a house (temple) for Baal (I Kings 16:32).

Josiah purifies the house (temple) of Yahweh (II Kings 23:4).

Third Theme

The king's relationship to idols

Ahab goes after idols (I Kings 21:26).

Josiah removes idols from the land (II Kings 23:24).

Fourth Theme

The king's attitude to child sacrifice

Ahab allows child sacrifice (I Kings 16:34).

Josiah destroys the place of child sacrifice and prohibits the custom (II Kings 23:10).

Fifth Theme

The king-prophet relationship

Ahab is hostile to the prophets of Yahweh (I Kings 21:20;22:7ff).

Josiah acquires of the prophetess of Yahweh (II Kings 22:13).

The themes as set out above reflect how the actions credited to the two kings determine the nature of the national cults. Ahab through his own actions leads his house (cf. I Kings 21;17ff) and indeed his kingdom (cf. I Kings 17:1ff) to disaster. The link created between the actions of the king and disaster which is so prominent in the Jeroboam and to a lesser extent the Davidic material, is given great prominence in the Ahab material.

This link is also present in the Josianic material. But Josiah unlike Ahab who strengthens this link attempts to break it through reform. While Ahab slides the North further down the hill of illegitimacy to inevitable disaster, Josiah attempts to halt the slide by returning his kingdom and indeed that once occupied by Ahab, to legitimacy and salvation. The actions of the two kings are interpreted as carrying great implications for the experiences of their respective nations. We shall now attempt to draw out these implications a bit further.

4. The Implications of the Kingship of Ahab and Josiah for the National Experience

In both the Ahab and Josianic material, a close relationship is created between the royal model represented by the king, and the type of national experience this engenders. Following immediately upon the very negative introduction to Ahab (I Kings 16:29-34), we have Elijah proclaiming a drought in Israel. Although 16:29-34 can be treated as the typical Deuteronomic introduction to the reign of a northern king, it also seems to function in a sin-judgement relationship to Elijah's proclamation in ch.17.

A national disaster is thus linked to the state of the cult in Israel. But since the king is always the one who is credited directly with the responsibility for the status of the national cult, it can be argued that Ahab is also being credited with the responsibility for the national disaster brought on by the drought. At a very early stage in the material of the Ahab reign, the element of disaster is introduced as one of the sure indicators of the type of

kingship represented by Ahab. It is a type which can only bring disaster to the nation.

In spite of the judgement speech of II Kings 21:11-15, the reform of Josiah can be interpreted as at least an attempt to halt the slide to disaster initiated by Manasseh. The reform can surely be counted as a high point of the national experience, coming between the apostasy of Manasseh and the rapid decline and destruction of the South. Josiah lifts the cult to unprecedented heights and so redirects the nation towards Yahweh and salvation.

But the report of the untimely death of Josiah (23:29-30) like that of the inability of his reform to halt the plunge to disaster (23:26-27), seems to limit the effect of the model of disfavour upon the national experience of disaster. Indeed the harsh reality of history was that the disasters occurred in spite of any piety which some of the kings might have possessed. In this way, the idealism that could have been one of the outgrowths of the model of favour is tempered by drawing into the model the bitter experiences of the nation.

These experiences are now paramount in most of the material of the post-Manasseh era. Josiah's reform in spite of all the attention given to it in the text, is surely little more than a temporary oasis for a nation on the march to certain disaster. It is Josiah's creation of this oasis which marks him out as a supreme representative of the model of favour. He demonstrates that alongside disaster, there are other possibilities as reflected in his thorough cultic reform.

It would seem therefore that both the Ahab material and that now attached to Josiah draw out the implications their kingships carried for the nation. Ahab, compounding and extending the sin of Jeroboam strengthens the relationship between disaster and the model of disfavour created in the Jeroboam material. He like the prototype of the model he represents paves the way to disaster. Josiah on the other hand, attempts to divert his nation from a similar path created by Manasseh. But the harsh reality of the national experience testified to the failure of these efforts of Josiah.

In the presentation of the kingship of Ahab and Josiah, we encounter two dimensions of the interpretation of the king: nation (history) relationship. One dimension presents this relationship and so the history of the nation as being locked into the inevitability of disaster and destruction. The 'sin of Jeroboam' theme represents this theme in the Ahab material, whereas the 'sin of Manasseh' performs a similar function in the Josiah material.

The other dimension reflects the hope that must have been present even within the most bitter of the experiences of the nation. Ahab's repentance for the death of Naboth (I Kings 21:27-28) as well as Yahweh's promise not to bring the threatened evil upon his house during his lifetime (vs.29), seem to hold out the possibility that even Ahab was not immune to reform. It is highly possible that the report of his escape from judgement also holds out the slim possibility that the nation he rules may also do the same.

The dimension of hope in the Josianic material is juxtaposed to that which points to the inevitability of

disaster and destruction. The glory of Josiah's extensive reform is held alongside the bitter experiences of destruction and exile. Hope and disaster are projected as the two products of kingship, even if they are attributed to the two contrasting models of kingship. The contrasting experiences of the nation find their explanations once more in the models of kingship.

The contrasting experiences of hope and disaster are also reflected in the traditions of our next two kings Ahaziah and Hezekiah. But whereas in the Ahaziah material the king as a representative of the model of disfavour is clearly one who brings disaster, Hezekiah although a representative of the model of favour represents both hope and disaster for the nation. The contrasting sides of the national experience are reflected in the kingship of Hezekiah. It is to the kingship of Ahaziah and Hezekiah that we now turn. In keeping with our approach to the Jeroboam and Davidic traditions we will be using out three major themes to isolate the model of kingship represented by the two kings. This will however be done on the presupposition that these kings like those discussed before constitute a deep if not painful wrestling with the experiences of the nation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. cf. Ellis, P. F. "1 - 2 Kings" Jerome Biblical Commentary, p. 194.
2. cf. Whitley, C. F. 'The Deuteronomic Presentation of the House of Omri' VT 2 (1952), 137-152.
Fichtner, J. Das Erste Buch von den Königen, p.297.
3. cf. Whitley, VT 2 (1952) pp.137ff;
Gray, I & II Kings, pp. 416ff. especially the comment of De Vries, Prophet against Prophet, p. 44 'Neither the textual nor literary criticism offers a firm basis for amending the proper name יְחֹשָׁפָט in vs.20. Though our narrative has mentioned Jehoshaphat... he is quietly forgotten as the narrative sharpens its focus on the King of Israel, now named specifically.'
4. cf. Eissfeldt, Introduction to the Old Testament, Trans. P. Ackroyd (Oxford, 1974) p. 296.
5. cf. Anderson, F. I. 'The Socio-juridical Background of the Naboth Incident' JBL 85 (1966) 46-57.
6. cf. the theory of Miller that much of the attack against many of the northern kings is based on the pre-supposition that these kings did not measure up to the 'charismatic ideal' of the narrators. 'The Fall of the House of Ahab' VT 17 (1967) 307-324.
7. Miller, VT 17 (1967) p. 312.
8. cf. Whitley, VT (1952) p. 151.
9. cf. Miller, VT 17 (1967) p. 311.
10. *ibid.*
11. Napier, B.D. 'The Omrides of Jezreel' VT 9 (1959) 366-378.
12. On the theological significance of 'neighbour' in the Old Testament,
cf. IDB, Vol.3, pp.534-535.

13. Ellis, '1 - 2 Kings,' p.196.
cf. also, Whitelam, The Just King, pp.172-173, and
Phillips, A. Ancient-Israel's Criminal Law: A new
approach to the Decalogue (Oxford 1970), who
claims that Ahab's request was in no sense
'improper,' p. 151 n.11.
14. Anderson, JBL 85 (1966) p. 49.
15. Gray, I & II Kings, p.439.
16. cf. Bronner, The stories of Elijah and Elisha,
(Leiden, 1968) pp.8ff.
Anderson, JBL 85 (1966) 46-57.
Eissfeldt, O. 'Ba'alšamēn und Jahwe' ZAW 57 (1939) 1-31.
Seeters, H. 'Der Fall Naboth in I Reg XXI' - VT 24
(1974) 474-488.
17. cf. Dietrich, W. Prophetie und Geschichte, pp.26-27.
18. cf. above, p. 196.
19. cf. Eissfeldt, O. Introduction, p.148.
20. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, p. 27.
21. cf. 'Dog' IDB Vol.1, pp.862-863.
22. On the role of the בָּיִת in the Old Testament tradition,
cf. Merz, E. Die Blutreiche bei Israeliten (1916);
Pedersen, Israel I-II, pp.378-392.
Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, pp.32-33.
23. cf. Miller, VT 17 (1967) p. 315.
Whitley, VT 11 (1952) p. 149.
24. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 548.
25. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 31.
26. cf. Miller, VT 17 (1967) p. 309.
27. On the significance of this act by the North,
cf. above, pp. 64ff.

28. cf. Hayes, J, J.M. Miller, Israelite & Judaeen History, pp.408ff.
29. cf. above, pp. 64ff.
30. On this,
cf. Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judaeen History, pp.403ff.
31. cf. Pedersen, Israel III-IV, pp. 227ff.
Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p.157.
De Vaux, Ancient Israel, pp.280ff;
Reed, W.L. 'Asherah' IDB Vol. 1, pp. 250-252.
32. Pedersen, Israel III-IV, p. 227.
33. Vriezen, Th.C. The Religion of Ancient Israel,
Trans. H. Hoskins (London 1967), p.51.
34. cf. Eissfeldt, 'Baal' RGG (3rd ed.) pp.805ff.
35. cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth, pp.74ff.
36. We can compare the problem of syncretism which resulted in the penetration of the religion of Yahweh by several alien cults. It is highly possible that the alien deities were often identified with Yahweh, and the work that was often attributed to him.
cf. Ahlström, G.W. Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion.
Soggin, J.A. ZAW 78 (1966) 179-204.
Fohrer, G. History of Israelite Religion, pp.124-139.
37. Gray, I & II Kings, p.369.
38. *ibid.*
39. Eichrodt, W. Theology of the Old Testament, p.61, n.45.
cf. also, Noth M. Das Buch Josua, HAT 1.7 (Tübingen 1957) p.41.
40. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.369.
41. Montgomery, Kings, p.287.
42. Burney, Kings, p.207.
43. Noth, Könige I, 1-16, p.356;
Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, p.61.
44. Burney, Kings, p.207.
45. The abhorrence of human sacrifice is probably the reason behind the exclusion of vs.34 from the LXX and Josephus. On this,
cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.287.

46. These narratives seem to present Ahab and Jezebel as not only being opposed to Yahweh but also to his prophets, cf. below, pp. 296ff.
47. cf. Whitley, VT 2 (1952) p. 143.
48. cf. Weiser, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 175.
49. cf. Fensham, F. C. 'A Few observations on the Polarisation between Yahweh and Baal in I Kings 17-19' ZAW 92 (1980) 227-236.
50. For a discussion on the identify of Baal in I Kings 18-19, cf. Albright, W. F. Archaeology and the Religion of Israel De Vaux, R. Ancient Israel, pp.312-330.
Galling, K. 'Der Gott Karmel und die Achtung der fremden Gotten' in Geschichte und Altes Testament, Fest. A.Alt, (Tübingen 1953), 105-125.
Alt, A. 'Gottesurteil auf dem Karmel,' in Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel II, (Munich 1953), pp.135-149.
51. On the problems relating to this verse, cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 386.
Montgomery, Kings, p.298.
52. Gray, I & II Kings, p.406.
53. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, pp.409-410.
54. Fohrer, Elia, 2nd ed. (Zurich, 1968), p.19.
55. Gray, I & II Kings, p.411.
56. cf. Klein, Israel in Exile, (Philadelphia 1970), pp. 16-17.
57. Evans, 'Naram-Sin and Jeroboam,' pp.114ff.
58. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, p.76;
Mettinger, King and Messiah, pp.34ff.
59. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, pp.95ff.
60. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.96.
61. Some scholars do divide this verse,
cf. Eissfeldt, 'Die Bücher der Könige' in Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments Vol.2, 4th ed. ed. by E. Kautzsch (Tübingen 1922), p.579.

62. cf. above, pp. 64ff.
63. It is widely agreed however that the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel should be understood as replacements for the Ark in Jerusalem.
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p. 315; Kaufmann, Y. The Religion of Israel, p. 271.
Dumermuth, ZAW 70 (1958) 59-98.
64. cf. Clements, God and Temple, (Oxford 1965) p.63. But von Rad distinguishes between the concept of a 'dwelling-temple,' and a 'theophany-temple,' claiming that the Jerusalem temple was understood to be a 'dwelling-temple.' Theology Vol.I, p.237. This distinction however seems to be untenable as pointed out by Clements (p.63,n4).
cf. also, Mohlenbrink, K. Der Tempel Salomos BWANT 4 (Stuttgart 1932), pp.134ff.
65. cf. the discussion of Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen. untersuchungen zu einem Grundthema der deuteronomistischen Geschichtsschreibung AThANT (Zürich 1980) pp.21ff.
66. *ibid.*
67. For a discussion of the relationship between king and temple,
cf. Poulssen, König und Tempel.
68. cf. our discussion above, pp. 81ff.
69. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.76.
70. Mayes, The Story of Israel between Settlement and Exile. A Redactional Study of the Deuteronomistic History, (London 1983).
71. Hoffmann, Reform and Reformen, pp.193ff.
72. cf. Ackroyd, INT 35 (1981), p.392.
73. cf. Poulssen, König und Tempel, p.13;
Hoffmann, Reform und REformen, pp.118-119.
Dietrich, 'Josia und das Gesetzbuch (2 Reg. XXII)' VT 27 (1977) 13-35.

74. For a discussion of this problem,
cf. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition
Berry, G. R. 'The code Found in the Temple' JBL 39
(1920) 44-51.
Clements, R. E. 'Deuteronomy and the Jerusalem Cult
Tradition' VT 15 (1965) 300-312.
Gressmann, H. 'Josia.und das Deuteronomium' ZAW 42
(1924) 313-337.
75. cf. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, pp.1ff;
Ellis, '1-2 Kings,' p. 207.
76. cf. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, pp.4ff.
77. This point seems to find some support in the theory
that identifies Deuteronomy with Josiah's law book.
Deuteronomy unlike the other legal material in the
Pentateuch is not linked directly to Sinai (cf.1:1ff).
The temple could therefore have been thought of as
the 'proper' place from where the new law was to be
issued.
78. cf. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, p.112;
von Rad, Theology Vol.I, pp.219, n.74, 239;
Clements, God and Temple, pp.79ff.
79. cf. Clements, God and Temple, pp.63ff; also above, p.356.
80. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, p.112.
81. On the relationship between these measures and Deuteronomy,
cf. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, pp.3ff.
82. Gressmann, ZAW, 42 (1924), pp.313ff.
83. Montgomery, Kings, p. 529.
84. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.530;
McKay, J. Religion in Judah under Assyria, SBT 2nd
Series (London 1973), pp.30ff.
85. McKay, Religion in Judah, pp.45ff;
Gray, J. 'Queen of Heaven' IDB Vol.3, p.975.

86. cf. Caquot, A. 'La divinité solaire ougaritique'
Syria 36 (1959) 90-101.
McKay, Religion in Judah, p.51.
87. cf. McKay, Religion in Judah, pp.49ff.
88. cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, pp.223ff.
89. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.529.
90. cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.30.
91. It is indeed highly possible that opposition to Asherah was built not only on her non-Israelite origins, but also because of her female nature which was somewhat in opposition to the ancient traditional understanding of the maleness of deity as represented by Yahweh.
92. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, pp.734ff.
93. cf. McKay, Religion in Judah, pp.28-44.
94. Cross, Canaanite Myth, pp.276ff;
Friedman, The Exile and Biblical Narrative,
(Cal.1981) pp.7ff.
95. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.731, n.a.
96. cf. Nicholson's division of these measures between the first and second phases of Josiah's reform.
Deuteronomy and Tradition, pp.12-13.
97. Their removal can be interpreted not only as a cultic act of purification, but also as the creation of space for Yahweh.
98. Their removal can be viewed as an expulsion from the land of Yahweh, of all deities that stand as rivals to him, and his control of the land.
99. Nelson, Double Readaction, p.82.
100. On the significance of keeping the Passover,
cf. Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, pp.100-101,
cf. especially, bibliography under n.3, p.101.

101. cf. the view of Fohrer that it was the Deuteronomic law that gave the Passover a new context as well as a new meaning in Israel. I Kings 23:21-23 can therefore be understood as pointing to a revival of an old understanding of the relationship between Israel and Yahweh. Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, p.101.
- also, von Rad, Theology, Vol.I, p.76.
102. Nicolsky, N. M. 'Pascha im Kulte des jerusalemischen Tempels' ZAW 45 (1927) 242-244.
103. *ibid.*
104. cf. the idea put forward by Nelson suggesting that Josiah's celebration of the Passover constitutes one of the strong links created between this king and Joshua, he celebrates a "precedent-setting" Passover and is unswervingly loyal to the law of Yahweh (cf. Josh.5:10; 8:30; 31; II Kings 23:21-23; 23:4-20). Both leaders are presented as working for a stronger relationship between Yahweh and people. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.125.
105. cf. above, pp. 268-269; 283-285.
106. *ibid.*
107. cf. Noth's description of vs.33 as an Einzelnotiz, Könige, p.355.
108. cf. Würthwein, I Könige 1-16, p.203.
109. Gray, I & II Kings, p.369; also
Noth, Könige, p.355.
110. Alt, 'Das Königtum in den Reichen Israel und Juda' VT I (1951) 2-22.
111. Würthwein, I Könige 1-16, p.203.
112. cf. Evans, 'Naram-Sin and Jeroboam', pp.100ff.
113. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.443.
114. cf. Haldar, A. 'Amorites,' IDB Vol.I, pp.115-116.
115. cf. above, p. 271.
116. cf. above, p. 264.

CHAPTER 6

AHAZIAH AND HEZEKIAH : TWO MODEST RECREATIONS
OF THE TWO ROYAL PROTOTYPES OF DISFAVOUR
(JEROBOAM) AND FAVOUR (DAVID)

1. The Delimitation of the two units

(a) The Ahaziah material (I Kings 22:51 - II Kings 1:18)

The story of Ahaziah is clearly marked by a beginning (I Kings 22:51 Heb vs.52) and an end (II Kings 1:18). These are normally treated as Deuteronomic introduction and conclusion.¹ There is wide consensus on the extent of the material. It has been felt that it was probably expanded by the story of the king's attempt to arrest Elijah,² but on the whole this does not interfere with the extent of the material. We shall be treating I Kings 22:51 - II Kings 1:18 as a unit, combining the account of the king's reign with the story of a confrontation between the king and the prophet Elijah.

(b) The Hezekiah material (II Kings 18:1 - 20:21)

This material like that discussed above, is clearly demarcated by an introduction (18:1-2) and a conclusion (20:21).³ Within these two points there is a collection of varied material, some of which seems to be far more concerned with the prophet Isaiah than with Hezekiah.⁴ That the material now occurs within the introduction and conclusion to the reign of Hezekiah seems to suggest that it is to be understood as having some special relationship to this king.⁵ We shall be touching on the function of the prophetic material

which has been placed within Hezekiah's reign in our next section. Our position is that all the material within 18:1 - 20:21 can be dealt with as relating to Hezekiah. All of the material within this block can be seen to be crucial to the creation of the model of kingship represented by Hezekiah. We will be treating it as such.

2. The relationship of the models created around Ahaziah and Hezekiah as these relate to the two prototypes Jeroboam and David

In this section of our discussion, we shall examine how closely the presentation of Ahaziah and Hezekiah relate to those of Jeroboam and David respectively. Using once more the three major themes of, 'Israel's legitimate dynasty,' 'The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence,' and 'The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult,' the relationship between the traditions of the four kings can be set out along the following lines:

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

<u>Model of Disfavour</u>	<u>Model of Favour</u>	<u>Ahaziah</u>	<u>Hezekiah</u>
Jeroboam is an usurper ruling over a legitimate part of the Davidic kingdom (I Kings 12:26-27)	David who was elected to replace the rejected Saul is the legitimate ruler of all Israel (I Sam. 6:20-23)	Ahaziah did what was evil in the sight of the Lord. He walked in the way of his father and mother and in the way of Jeroboam (I Kings 22:52)	Hezekiah did what was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that David his father had done (II Kings 18:3)
The house of Jeroboam will be cut off and destroyed from the face of the earth (13:34)	The house of David will be established forever (7:16,29)		
Yahweh will bring evil upon the house of Jeroboam.... (14:10,11,14)	There are threats to the Davidic house. These are settled and David hands over his kingdom in peace to Solomon (II Sam. 9-20; I 1931-2)	There is a threat against Ahaziah, stating that he will die of his sickness. He dies childless (II Kings 1)	Hezekiah is sick, but is healed miraculously. His house is threatened but he will not experience threat (II Kings 20:1-19)

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

<u>Model of Disfavour</u>	<u>Model of Favour</u>	<u>Ahaziah</u>	<u>Hezekiah</u>
The bull images made by Jeroboam and declared the god(s) of the Exodus are illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence (12:28-30; cf. also 13:1-3; 14:9)	The Ark is the (only) legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence. (6:6-12b; cf. also, 7:1-7; 15:29)	Ahaziah walked in the way of Jeroboam (I Kings 22:52)	Hezekiah removed Nehushtan from the temple and destroyed it. (18:4) He also resorts to the temple - the home of the Ark - in times of crisis (19:1,14) He cut down the Asherah (18:4)

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

<u>Model of Disfavour</u>	<u>Model of Favour</u>	<u>Ahaziah</u>	<u>Hezekiah</u>
The northern shrines of Dan and Bethel constitute an illegitimate cult.... (12:30-33; 13:2a; 14:14-15)	Jerusalem where the Ark is housed is the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult (6:16-19; cf. also, 7:12-13; 24:18ff)	Ahaziah serves Baal and worshipped him (22:53) He seeks the help of the god of Ekron (Baalzebub) instead of that of Yahweh, in the crisis brought on by his sickness (1:2-4)	Hezekiah carries out a reform of the Jerusalem cult (18:4) He seeks the help of Yahweh in his time of crisis (19:14ff)
		Ahaziah is hostile to the prophet of Yahweh (1:9ff)	Hezekiah seeks out the prophet of Yahweh (19:1)

Once more the two kings are presented as continuing the work of their prototypes. Ahaziah is depicted as one who consolidates the 'sins of his father' (22:52-53) making his own contribution to the strengthening of the Baal cult in his kingdom. Hezekiah is indeed another David. He strengthens the Jerusalem cult by removing the foreign elements (18:4). He thus stands as the direct opposite to Ahaziah. We shall now examine and compare the material relating to the two kings with special emphasis on how they are created into contrasting models of kingship.

(a) I Kings 22:51 - II Kings 1:18

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

The linking of Ahaziah to Ahab his father, and to Jeroboam I (22:52) is a link to two dynasties that are condemned to destruction (cf. I Kings 14:10,11,14; 21:20-24).⁶ Although there is no direct reference to the dynasty of Ahaziah, his introduction as a sick person (II Kings 1:2), his death from his sickness now interpreted as the direct of a prophetic threat (1:4) and the note that he had no sons (1:17), are probably to be interpreted as the deprivation of a dynasty through the direct intervention of Yahweh. The brevity of his reign (850 - 849 B.C.)⁷ undoubtedly added to this.

Sickness and death are therefore two of the negative features associated with Ahaziah. His sickness, caused we are told by a fall through an upper window, is reported with few details (vs.2). Although nothing is said about the cause

of the accident, Ellis claims that it was probably intended to be understood as the 'punishment of a just and jealous Lord'.⁸ According to this interpretation, the king's sickness can be viewed as a sure sign of divine judgement.

Although the king's death is linked directly to his approach to בַּעַל זְבוּב אֱלֹהֵי עֶקְרוֹן (vs.3), it occurs in the text as more or less the culmination of his sickness. His death is to be announced by Elijah in true prophetic fashion :

וְלֵכֶן כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה הַמַּטָּה אֲשֶׁר-עָלִיךָ
שָׁם לֹא-תֵרָד מִמָּנָה כִּי מוֹת תָּמוּת

(vs.4, cf.6,16)

This threat can be compared with those against Jeroboam (I Kings 14:10-16) and Ahab (I Kings 21:19). As with Ahab, the life of the king is threatened because of his support for a religion other than that of Yahweh. There is a close affinity between Jeroboam's allegiance to אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים (14:9) and Ahaziah's approach to בַּעַל זְבוּב. One must assume of course that the threat against Jeroboam's house includes him (Jeroboam) as well. If so, the tendency of the two kings to worship gods other than Yahweh is cited as the reason for their demise.

The 'fate' of Jeroboam is extended to Ahaziah through the phrase which accuses him of walking בְּדֶרֶךְ גִּרְבָּעִם בֶּן-נָבָט (I Kings 22:53). This aligns him extremely closely to the prototype of disfavour. The prophetic confrontation recounted in 1:3-16 clearly confirms that Ahaziah is to be numbered among the illegitimate kings of the North who adhere to the 'sin' of Jeroboam. When we compare the threat of death against Ahaziah with the miraculous cure of Hezekiah

(II Kings 20:1-11), we are probably encountering similar legendary embellishments that now function to create the kings into particular royal models. Just as Hezekiah's cure is to be closely linked to his functioning as a model Davidic king,⁹ so Ahaziah's sickness and his early death can be seen to highlight his non-Davidic status as king. This is more directly highlighted in the report of his attempts to consult

פַּעַל זְבוּב אֱלֹהֵי עֶקְרוֹן and his attempt to arrest Elijah.

These two acts clearly separate him from the ideal kings of the legitimate Davidic dynasty. His own status is therefore to be understood as being the opposite to that of the ideal Davidic kings of the South, as these are reflected in the presentations of Josiah and Hezekiah.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

The accusation against Ahaziah which reads :

וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינָיו יְהוָה וַיִּלְךָ
בְּגִדְרָה יִרְבָּעָם בֶּן-נָבָט אֲשֶׁר
הִחֲסִיא אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל

(vs.52 (Eng.), 53 (Heb)).

marks this king out as a supporter of the bull shrines of Dan and Bethel. Dietrich attributes the above phrase to Dtr G, listing it as one of the many similar forms to be found in the books of Kings.¹⁰ There is no other reference to בְּגִדְרָה יִרְבָּעָם in the Ahaziah material. It seems however that the close link created between the actions of Ahaziah, יַעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינָיו יְהוָה,

and those of Jeroboam וַיִּלְךָ בְּגִדְרָה יִרְבָּעָם accuses

Ahaziah of identifying the bull symbols of the North with Yahweh's power and presence even as Jeroboam is accused of doing.¹¹

בְּדֶרֶךְ יִרְבָּעָם to be understood as בְּהִטְאוֹת
יִרְבָּעָם.¹² This would tie in with the description of
 Jeroboam's action as הִקְטִיב אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל. The nature of
 Jeroboam's sin is therefore kept alive and to the fore of
 the reader's mind. Its 'imposition' upon Ahaziah points to
 the claim that it was still very active during the reign of
 Ahaziah. In this way, the theme of the use of cultic symbols
 other than the Ark in Jerusalem is sustained. The theme con-
 tinues to maintain the incompatibility between the religion
 of North and South.

It is highly unlikely that there were any attempts
 after Jeroboam I to reduce the Northern cult's independence
 of that of Judah and Jerusalem. The reform of Jehu in spite
 of its strong pro-Yahweh thrust, is still depicted as main-
 taining this independence (cf. II Kings 10:31). The under-
 standing behind 22:52 seems to suggest that the failure to
 do so deprived all the people of the North of a proper
 allegiance to the Jerusalem temple containing the Ark. There
 is therefore behind the verse the conviction that the temple
 with the Ark is Yahweh's only legitimate shrine.¹³ No other
 symbol purporting to represent Yahweh's power and presence is
 to be tolerated.

The report of the king's allegiance to Baal
 (I Kings 22:53) and Baal of Ekron (II Kings 1:2) serve to
 compound the Jeroboam-like sin of the North.¹⁴ That the
 serving and worship of Baal is partly described by casting
 Ahaziah into a similar anti-Yahwistic mould as his father,
 recalls the strong Baalistic leanings reported of Ahab
 (I Kings 16:31-32). The building of a house and altar for
 Baal are presented as the apex of these tendencies of Ahab.

One is therefore tempted to interpret the comparison of Ahaziah with Ahab in the context of the latter's support of Baal. Ahaziah can therefore be viewed as supporting the Baalistic innovations of his father.

In the light of all this, the house (temple) built by Ahab for Baal will be one of the anti-Yahwistic cultic symbols supported by Ahaziah and other members of his kingdom. Indeed the phrase (vs.54, Heb.) וַיֵּצֵבֵד אֶת-הַבַּיִת לַיהוָה,¹⁵ especially the two last words can be interpreted to mean that the king was involved in a cultic act in the temple of Baal. As is the case in the Ahab material, the house (temple) of Baal is probably being presented as a rival shrine to the Jerusalem temple. It therefore stands as an affront to the legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence.

Once again the North is highlighted as a non-Yahwistic place primarily because of the absence of Yahweh's legitimate shrine and the presence of that of another god. It is the absence of Ark and temple as instigated by Jeroboam that continues to deprive the North of the only legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence. The words placed on the lips of the angel of Yahweh and Elijah, הִמָּכֵלִי (vs.3) אֵין אֱלֹהִים בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל can be understood as an affirmation of Yahweh's presence as well as his availability even in the North. These are affirmed in spite of all the anti-Yahwistic accusations levelled at Ahaziah and the people of the North. In spite of this however, the cult of the North is not presented as being other than illegitimate, not least because of the illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

There are several references to the status of the northern cult in the Ahaziah material. These occur in the introduction to the reign (I Kings 22:51-53) and in the story of the confrontation with Elijah (II Kings 1:2-16). The first unit touches on the likeness of Ahaziah to his parents :

וַיִּלֶּךָ

בְּדֶרֶךְ אָבִיו וּבְדֶרֶךְ אִמּוֹ . This comparison recalls the 'way' of Ahab and Jezebel as recorded in the Ahab material.¹⁶ As we have already seen, the policies of these two are presented as being diametrically opposed to the way of Yahweh.¹⁷ Indeed the two are constantly accused of threatening the Yahweh cult. The same is said to obtain under Ahaziah. His comparison with his parents focuses attention on the anti-Yahwistic trend that is normally credited to the North.

Another statement within the first unit recalls once again the Ahab/Jezebel tradition and so underlines the illegitimacy of the northern cult. This is captured in the verse :

וַיִּצְכַּד אֶת-הַבַּעַל וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לוֹ

וַיִּקְעַס אֶת-דָּתָהּ אֶלֶּהִי יִשְׂרָאֵל

כָּל אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה אָבִיו

(vs.54 Heb).

Our main interest in this verse as it relates to the section under discussion, is its reference to the worship of Baal in the North. The Baal here is clearly to be understood as the Canaanite deity, to be closely related to Baalzebub of Ekron of II Kings 1:2ff.¹⁸ The phrase reads like a stereotyped rejection of rival deities and has been widely attributed to the Deuteronomic group.¹⁹ But it also pinpoints the crucial

role of the king in determining the cultic nature of his kingdom.²⁰

That Baal is here said to be worshipped in the North suggests at the same time that the Yahweh cult was not at its strongest there. That Yahweh is described as being provoked to anger is simply another way of emphasizing the non-Yahwistic elements in the cult of the North. In Samuel - Kings, provoking the anger of Yahweh is invariably linked to the patronizing of foreign cults (cf. I Kings 16:33; II Kings 23:26). The cultic status which Ahaziah is accused of imposing on the North, and which provokes Yahweh to anger, can be compared with the similar acts of Ahab, and also those of Jeroboam I.

Within the second unit (II Kings 1:2-16), there seems to be a different approach to the nature of the northern cult. The difference is of course partly due to a source other than the one in the first unit, being present in the second one.²¹ But it is largely achieved through the introduction of Elijah. This helps to strengthen the polemical thrust against the northern cult. The words attributed to Ahaziah in vs. 2, לְכוּ

at
 וְרָשָׁי בְּבַעַל זְבוּג אֱלֹהֵי עֶקְרוֹן אִם-אֶתִּיא מִתְּלִי זֶה
 once sets the stage for the ensuing conflict between king and prophet.

Two elements of Ahaziah's comment impinge right away upon the narrator's presentation of the cult of the North. One is simply the reference to a god other than Yahweh who is thought to have the power to cure the king of his sickness. The theme of other gods is therefore picked up from I Kings 22:54. The retort of the angel²² and Elijah represent attack on the position of those who would resort to

gods other than Yahweh.

The question posed first by the angel and then by Elijah about the presence of a god in Israel (vss.3,6,16), has an ironic slant to it. Elijah is prompted by none other than the angel of Yahweh, and this reminds the reader of the availability of Yahweh if he is consulted. Ahaziah's refusal to do just this is a denial of Yahweh's availability if not his presence.

There is surely some significance in the description of Baalzebub as the god of Ekron. His domain of Ekron is completely outside of Israel, the domain of Yahweh. Ahaziah is identified as a threat to this domain, not through the introduction of alien gods like some of the other kings of the North, especially Ahab, but by refusing to accept that Yahweh's power is always operative in Israel. Resort to the god of Ekron functions in the narrative as a denial of Yahweh the God of Israel.

The move from Israel to Ekron can probably be compared with the move from Jerusalem to Dan and Bethel. If 'Israel' is understood as the religious community comprising both North and South, then the move from Israel to Ekron like that from Jerusalem to Dan and Bethel, is a move away from legitimacy to illegitimacy. Ahaziah continues like his predecessor to compound the illegitimate cultic status of the North.

This status is also emphasised through the theme of the king-prophet tension. It links up with a similar theme in the Ahab material where Elijah is presented as the chief protagonist against the non-Yahwistic trends of Ahab and Jezebel. There is conflict between the prophet who delivers the message of Yahweh (cf. I Kings 1:3) and the king who rejects the message (cf. I Kings 1:7ff). Rejection of the word of

Yahweh as spoken by his prophet, can be interpreted as an indication of a low receptivity by king and people.²³

As in the Ahab material, Elijah is presented as being engaged in a struggle to preserve the religion of Yahweh in a hostile environment. The hostility is reflected in at least two ways. The first is through the sending of

שָׂרֵי-חַמָּשִׁים וְרִמְקָשִׁיר . Gray claims that this term points to the 'organization of a professional standing army', which according to him, is a feature of the Hebrew monarchy.²⁴

Montgomery/Gehman point out the relationship between the term and the Akkadian rab hanšâ noting that the Hebrew term is an 'honourable title'.²⁵ The narrator cleverly places members of Israel's professional army over against Yahweh's prophet. The very idea of such a conflict discredits the religious standing of king and people.

The second way in which the hostility of the environment in which Elijah finds himself is expressed, is through the attempt to arrest him because of his criticism of the king. Montgomery/Gehman have drawn attention to the 'subtle progress' in the reports of the attempts to arrest the prophet.²⁶ In spite of the 'personal supplication'²⁷ of the third שָׂרֵי-חַמָּשִׁים the theme of king-prophet confrontation is still maintained. The introduction of the מְלָאךְ יְהוָה (vs.15) is indeed the reintroduction of the one who functions in vs.3 as the initiator of the confrontation. But his reintroduction helps to sustain the conviction that the way of the king and indeed his שָׂרֵי-חַמָּשִׁים, is diametrically opposed to the way of Yahweh as reflected in his angel and prophet.

The North is therefore depicted as being devoid of

an awareness of Yahweh. This is to assume of course that the cultic disposition attributed to the king, is to be understood as extending to his entire kingdom as well.²⁸

Although the narrative as it now stands (I Kings 1:2ff), is surely more concerned with the role of the legitimate Yahweh prophet in the non-Yahwistic North, than with the details of cultic status of the North, yet its primary concern serves to highlight the definite opinion on the northern cult that the narrative conveys. This opinion is that this cult, unlike the legitimate Yahweh cult, so ably reflected in his prophet, is illegitimate.

(b) II Kings 18:1 - 20:21

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Hezekiah, like all the other kings of the South, is portrayed as having an indisputable Davidic pedigree. The kingdom of Judah unlike the northern kingdom Israel, was able to maintain a single royal line, that of David.²⁹ The narratives of I & II Kings draw our attention however, to what are to be understood as deviations from the Davidic ideal, David himself.³⁰ Thus Solomon (I Kings 11:4), Abijah (15:3), Ahaz (II Kings 16:12), and most of all Manasseh (II Kings 21), are all presented as deviations from the Davidic ideal.

Not so Hezekiah. He is introduced as an ideal descendant of David :

וַיַּעַשׂ הַמֶּלֶךְ כְּכֹל
אֲשֶׁר-עָשָׂה דָּוִד אָבִיו (18:3)

Here proper representation of the Davidic dynasty is interpreted in terms of 'doing right' before Yahweh. Legitimate

dynasty becomes closely bound up with legitimate response to Yahweh. This verse which is normally treated as part of a Deuteronomic introduction to the reign of Hezekiah,³¹ seems to be pointing to the tradition about the piety of the king (cf. 19:1-7, 14-19).

The same can probably be said about the claim being made in vs. 5 :

בִּיהָרָה אֱלֹהֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּטַח וְאַחֲרָיו לֹא-הָיָה
כְּמֹהוּ בְּכָל מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה וְאַשֶּׁר הָיָה לְפָנָיו

32

This claim seems to place Hezekiah in a unique position among the other kings of Judah. The statement recalls that made of Josiah (cf. 22:25), and probably reflects a standard commentary on the reforming kings of Judah.³³ The reform of the cult as another manifestation of the king's piety, constitutes another dimension to the Davidic model into which he is cast.

Hoffmann claims that vs. 5 reflects the literary technique of the Deuteronomic group, used primarily to impose a peculiar stamp upon what in his view is the cult history of I and II Kings.³⁴ Gray on the other hand, thinks that the phrase וְאַשֶּׁר הָיָה לְפָנָיו appears somewhat awkwardly in the verse, and is probably a later addition.³⁵ He argues that the verse clearly indicates that David has been at least forgotten among Hezekiah's predecessors.³⁶ It seems however that the reference to David in vs. 3 places some restrictions on the interpretation of vs. 5. The praise being heaped upon Hezekiah in vs. 5 is obviously to be interpreted in the light of vs. 3. His performance in the area of Yahweh-King relationship is therefore to be viewed as another of the David-like qualities of Hezekiah.

The same can be said of the comment contained in vs.7. The statement וְהָיָה יְהוָה עִמָּו recalls similar statements about David.³⁷ Here as in the Davidic material, we are surely dealing with an idealistic and pietistic image of the king that has been shaped by the understanding of the relationship between success and allegiance to Yahweh.³⁸ The result of the imposition of this image upon Hezekiah is creation of a Davidic model. This stands extremely close to the Davidic prototype as reflected in vs.3.

The story of the sickness and cure of Hezekiah (20:1-11), can be interpreted as a commentary on the piety of the king. de Vries refers to it as a 'good over evil story'.³⁹ The 'good' will be of course not only the work of Yahweh and Isaiah, but also the piety displayed by the king.⁴⁰ But if the story represents a 'typical attitude toward the Davidic kingship' as reflected in material associated with 'Judahite prophets' as de Vries claims,⁴¹ then the story contains a positive attitude towards the Davidic dynasty. The king's piety and his cure indeed constitute a reaffirmation of the Davidic dynasty. Personal piety extends beyond the person of the king and reflects favourably upon the dynasty to which he belongs.

This reflection is made stronger by the double reference to David in vss.5-6. The first reference employs the name David as part of an identification of Yahweh :

..... בַּה־אֱמֹר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי דָוִד אָכִיךָ The god of David (אֱלֹהֵי דָוִד) is the one who responds to the king's possible death (vs.1b), with the promise of life. This link between Yahweh, David and Hezekiah helps to cement the close relationship between Yahweh and the dynasty to which the two kings

belong. The same is true of the second reference to David. In this reference, David is cited as the reason why Yahweh's salvation is experienced by Hezekiah and Jerusalem (vs.6). Hezekiah is once more closely alinged to David. His salvation becomes one of the direct benefits derived from membership of the Davidic dynasty.

But a critical examination of the Hezekiah material reflects what can be regarded as two contrasting approaches to the king's status as a member of the Davidic dynasty. Hezekiah is clearly listed as an outstanding member of what is normally regarded as Israel's only legitimate dynasty, that of David (cf. 18:3, 20:5-6). It seems however that the story about the visit of the Babylonian envoys (20:12-19) imposes a negative stamp not only upon Hezekiah but possibly upon the Davidic dynasty as well.

This negative stamp is contained in vss. 17-19. Vss. 17-18 pronounce judgement upon the Davidic dynasty by declaring that the sons (descendants) of Hezekiah and all their possessions will be taken to Babylon. Clements find in these verses a clear reference to the surrender to the king of Babylon by Jehoiachin in 598. It was however placed in its present context in the Hezekiah material, since the events of 598,

"....cried out for explanation since it appeared to make nonsense to all the hopes which the accounts of Jerusalem's deliverance in Sennacherib's time had intended to foster."⁴²

The verses according to this view, are attempting to square a bitter national experience with all the traditions about the function of the Davidic dynasty (and Jerusalem) as a channel

of Yahweh's salvation.

If as Ackroyd claims, the two stories of ch.20 combine the themes of judgement, exile, restored life and continuing rule,⁴³ then the threat against Hezekiah's descendants must be balanced by the more favourable presentation of Hezekiah. His dynasty is threatened, but in the wider context of Hezekiah material the special relationship between Yahweh and the Davidic dynasty is in no way severed.

This seems to be exactly the point that is being made in vs.19. Vs.19a seems to be making Hezekiah accept the judgement pronounce by Isaiah as the just consequences for his flirtations with Babylon. The piety attached to Hezekiah in the earlier material is present once more. But vs.19b attaches an ulterior motive to Hezekiah's reflection of piety. The narrator skilfully uses his knowledge of the exact time when Hezekiah's descendants were taken to Babylon to temper any lofty conclusions about this king's piety which vs.19a may be inclined to create. At the same time however, the reference to the peace and security in Hezekiah's days affirms the salvation experienced by this king primarily because he is a member of the Davidic dynasty.

It can be safely claimed in the light of our discussion, that the high esteem often bestowed upon the Davidic dynasty is very much at work in the Hezekiah material. In spite of the threat against Hezekiah's sons, the Davidic dynasty is still presented as being bound up with Yahweh's power to save his people. The dynasty is still depicted as having a significance which extends far beyond itself. It seems to constitute the key to the future of the nation.⁴⁴ Hezekiah is given a crucial role in shaping this future. It is through him that

the Davidic dynasty maintains the important link between kingship and the national experience, while affirming the status of the Davidic dynasty as Israel's legitimate dynasty.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Of the four acts of reform credited to Hezekiah (18:4), the destruction of Nehushtan relates directly to this section of our discussion. Along with the Ark, this cultic object probably represented a legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence among his people. That the cultic object was linked to Moses probably helped to strengthen its function as a legitimate cultic object of the Jerusalem cult.

It seems however that the fate of Nehushtan reintroduces the question of its legitimacy as a symbol of the Yahweh cult. Reported as it is in the context of the king's removal of other cultic symbols, it is clearly to be understood as a reform move. Its removal can be interpreted as a re-affirmation of the significance and cultic status of another important cultic symbol of the Jerusalem cult, the Ark.

The narrator goes beyond the report of the removal of Nehushtan and reports its total destruction. It is totally and completely removed from its position of prominence in the Yahweh cult. It is also highly possible that the narrator is also pointing to another dimension of the destruction of Nehushtan. Its destruction can also be understood as a relegation to the state of powerlessness.

The king's removal of other cultic symbols is probably a reminder that these symbols represent the power and presence of gods other than Yahweh. All three of the symbols

mentioned, the high places, the pillars and the Asherah, are thought to be Canaanite, with the pillars (massebahs) and Asherahs being among the cultic objects attached to the high place.⁴⁵ As symbols of the Canaanite cult, they become for the narrator, rivals of the legitimate Yahweh cult. Their removal like the removal of Nehushtan, affirms the central importance of the temple with the Ark, as the only legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence.

The status and crucial importance of the Ark and the temple is also reiterated in the report of Hezekiah's resort to the temple in a time of extreme crisis (19:1, 14ff).⁴⁶ In a dramatic way, one is led to hold the power attributed to the Rabshekah (18:19ff), over against that of Yahweh as symbolised in his temple.⁴⁷ The king's going to the house of Yahweh stands in the narrative as a recourse to the true source of power. The temple with the Ark becomes the place from where Yahweh's power and presence emanate.

This last point is further emphasised through Hezekiah's prayer (19:15-19). Clements points out that this prayer brings out forcibly the polemic against other gods.⁴⁸ This can hardly be denied. It seems however that a peculiar thrust is given to the prayer by closely linking it to the temple.

Gray finds in the description of Yahweh as the one who is enthroned above the cherubim (19:15), a direct reference to the place in the temple where Hezekiah should be understood to be. This is the Holy of Holies where the Ark symbolising the presence of Yahweh rested.⁴⁹ Montgomery/Gehman in a similar vein, draw a comparison between the report of David before the Ark (II Sam. 7:18ff), and Hezekiah's position as described in 19:14.⁵⁰

It seems however that 19:14-15 can also draw our attention to the very close relationship between the Ark and temple on one hand, and the relationship between these and Yahweh's power and presence to save. The Ark residing in the temple, functions in the prayer as a crucial link between king and people, and Yahweh. Ark and temple together constitute the legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence in Jerusalem and Judah.

On the basis of our discussion above, we can claim that the concern for the legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence is also to be found in the Hezekiah material. Like Josiah, Hezekiah is depicted as the pious king who reclaims the temple as the exclusive domain of Yahweh. His resort to the temple and the Ark in the time of crisis helps to reaffirm the importance of these symbols as representations of Yahweh's power and presence in Israel.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

That Jerusalem is the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult, is strongly asserted in the Hezekiah material. The assertion is contained in the report of the reform of Hezekiah (18:4), the work and support attributed to Isaiah (19:2ff), and probably most of all, in the reports about the deliverance of Jerusalem from the Assyrians (19:6ff).

The reform credited to Hezekiah in 18:4 has evoked much scholarly debate. Its historicity has been questioned by a large group of scholars.⁵¹ One of the earliest critics to do so was Wellhausen who deemed the reform a 'pious fraud.'⁵² This negative approach has however been rejected by Alt, von Rad, and Noth. These scholars accept the 'good historical value' of the report in 81:4.⁵³ It has also been argued that what occurs in 18:4 is

actually a compressed account of a more extensive report.⁵⁴

It seems however that the report of a reform by Hezekiah should probably be accorded more theological than historical significance. It has been pointed out by several scholars that the *בְּמִזֵּב*, *פְּצֻבָּת*, and *אֲשֶׁרָה*, all of which are mentioned in 18:4, are traditional Deuteronomic marks of apostasy.⁵⁵ Their removal through reform is therefore to be treated as one of the climaxes of history as presented in Samuel-Kings.⁵⁶ The action of Hezekiah therefore serves to affirm the legitimacy of the Jerusalem cult.

Although the figure of Isaiah could have been a later introduction into the Hezekiah tradition,⁵⁷ he now plays a crucial role in the material. The king-prophet relationship is seen to be a crucial factor relating to the survival of king and nation (cf. 19:2ff; 20:1ff). It is in 19:2 that the relationship is introduced into the material. The sending of Eliakim and Shebna to Isaiah must of course be viewed against the background of the crisis reported in 18:13-16, 17-37. The theme of the crucial role of the legitimate Yahweh prophet in the affairs of the South, is also present. He is represented as an intermediary between king and people, and the saving power of Yahweh.

But the salvation of Yahweh is seen as directed towards Jerusalem. The unit which is concerned primarily with the salvation of Jerusalem in the face of an Assyrian attack, 18:13 - 19:37, consists of two separate accounts of the event.⁵⁸ The first account corresponds well with a similar account in the Assyrian annals.⁵⁹ The second account 18:17 - 19:37 which represents some legendary developments of the account in 18:13-16,⁶⁰ has probably been buttressed by an element of Zion

theology.⁶¹ Indeed the term יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל יֹשֵׁב הַקֶּרֶבִּים referring as it does to the Ark, in the Jerusalem temple,⁶² points not only to the legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence, but also to where this symbol is to be found.

The exact relationship of Isaiah to the Assyrian assault on Jerusalem between 701 - 705 B.C. is still far from clear.⁶³

The narrative of 19:1-37 assigns to him a very powerful role. He is credited with averting the Assyrian threat thus ensuring the salvation of Jerusalem. The threat against the king of Assyria :

הִנְנִי נֹתֵן בְּיָדְךָ וְשִׁמְעִי שְׁמוֹעָה
וְשָׁב לְאָרְצוֹ וְהַפְּלֵתִי בְּחֶרֶב בְּאֶרְצוֹ

(19:7)

stresses the futility of his attack on Jerusalem. But vs.7 along with vs.6 contain what Gray seems to suggest are some significant words. These are אֲשֶׁר גִּדְּפוּ בְּעָרֵי (vs.6), and רִיחַ (vs.7).⁶⁴ Whereas the first declares the retort of the king of Assyria as blasphemy, the second points to the subservient status of the king's servants. The term רִיחַ on the other hand, points to the 'invasive supernatural influence' of Yahweh.⁶⁵ Coming as they do in a prophetic speech, he is depicted as stressing divine protection in the face of the direct threat to Jerusalem.

The same idea surfaces in vss.21-34. Kaiser has maintained that of these verses, vss.32;34 constitute a basic prophecy, and vss.21-31 a later addition.⁶⁶ Clements however finds three prophecies (vss.21-28, 29-31, and 32-34) within the complex.⁶⁷ The entire unit is concerned with the protection of Jerusalem. Using the division of Clements, the first 'prophecy' is directly addressed to the king of Assyria. His assault on Jerusalem is presented as a direct affront to

the power of Yahweh. The 'assumed' power of the king is contrasted with that of Yahweh the one who is in absolute control of history (21-27). Vs.28 declares that the king will suffer the same 'barbarous Assyrian custom' that was handed out to the defeated enemies of Assyria.⁶⁸ The prophet is thus made to pronounce the judgement of Yahweh upon the one who threatens his legitimate sanctuary.

Within vss.29-31, there is a direct address to Hezekiah that affirms hope in the context of the report of the threat of the Assyrians. Here the coming salvation of Jerusalem is reported in terms of abundance and the survival of the remnant.⁶⁹ The presence of the term *nixin* in vs.29 has led Montgomery/Gehman to find some analogies with Is.7:10ff and ch.19.⁷⁰ A genuine Isaianic flavour is therefore imposed upon the material. The prophet becomes the one who is able not only to save Jerusalem from disaster, but ensures the survival of its inhabitants and those of Judah.

The third 'prophecy' cements the close link that is being created between Isaiah and the escape of Jerusalem from destruction at the hands of the Assyrians. This is very strongly expressed in vs.32 :

לִכְן כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲשׁוּר לֹא
יָבֹא אֶל-הָעִיר הַזֹּאת וְלֹא-יִוָּרֶה שָׁם חַץ
וְלֹא-יִקְדָּמָנָה מִגֵּן וְלֹא-יִשְׁפֹּף עָלֶיהָ כִּלְלָהּ

It has long been detected that the above verse, alluding to the failure of Sennacherib to attack Jerusalem, does not agree with this ruler's own description of his campaign of 701.⁷¹ In keeping with the biblical account of 18:17-19:37, Jerusalem which is presented as having a special relationship

with Yahweh, is accorded divine protection. What we have at work in vs.32 is probably a reflection of what Clements has termed special beliefs about the presence of Yahweh in the Jerusalem sanctuary.⁷²

Given all that we have said above, it does seem that the prophetic figure of Isaiah functions in the Hezekiah material to assert the crucial role of Jerusalem in the Yahweh-Judah relationship. The tradition of the prophet is therefore closely bound up with that about Yahweh's protection of Zion.⁷³ The legitimacy of the Jerusalem cult is articulated in terms of the futility of the Assyrians in attempting to destroy it. But it is also articulated in terms of the special relationship between Yahweh and David :

וְגִבּוֹרֹתַי אֶל-הָעִיר הַזֹּאת לְהוֹשִׁיעָהּ
לְמַצְגִּי וּלְמַצֵּן דָּוִד עַבְדִּי (19:34)

It is undoubtedly the entire Davidic dynasty that is the 'focal point' here.⁷⁴ Yahweh, his prophet Isaiah and the Davidic dynasty are therefore all given a very special relationship to Yahweh's legitimate sanctuary in Jerusalem.

3. Ahaziah and Hezekiah as models of disfavour and favour as this is determined by the kings' attitude to alien deities and the prophet of Yahweh

(i) The king's attitude to alien deities

Ahaziah served and worshipped Baal
(I Kings 22:54a)

Hezekiah removed the high places, broke down the pillars, and cut down the Asherah
(II Kings 18:4)

The two kings are credited with responses to alien deities that are directly opposite to each other. Ahaziah is

depicted as being totally committed to Baal.⁷⁵ The accusation that Ahaziah served Baal and worshipped him (cf. I Kings 16:31), can also be interpreted as a subtle hint that the king's allegiance was misplaced. The verb rendered 'serve' (R.S.V.) can also be rendered 'to work for another.'⁷⁶ It can indicate a measure of control over the one who is doing the serving by the one who is being served. If so, Ahaziah's relationship to Baal can be seen as moving beyond the point of mere worship to a state of domination.

Indeed the word translated 'worship' (R.S.V.) can be rendered to 'bow' or 'stoop down,' but can also mean to prostrate before a monarch in superior homage.⁷⁷ All these meanings convey the idea of subserviance. The king's relationship to Baal is presented as one in which he is subjected to an alien deity who is far more powerful than himself. But what is even more important, he is giving the type of allegiance to another god that should be given only to Yahweh. This above all else, creates him into a model of disfavour.

Hezekiah's reform measures as set out in I Kings 18:4 marks him out as a model of favour. The reform motif is once more put to work to emphasise the cultic importance of the Jerusalem temple. At the same time it enhances the image of the king who carries out the reform. Hezekiah reclaims for Yahweh what had been illegitimately cast under the domain of another god.

The removal of the objects mentioned can be interpreted as a direct assault upon the deities they represent. In contrast to Ahaziah, Hezekiah is presented as being in

absolute control of the alien deities worshipped in his kingdom. Their removal becomes a rejection of their claim over king and people.

The two kings, by virtue of their response to non-Yahwistic cults, become contrasting models of kingship. The relationship created between Ahaziah and Baal makes him into one who rejects the cult of Yahweh. This point is firmly made through Elijah's question about his approach to Baalzebub of Ekron (II Kings 1:3b). Ahaziah embodies the most important element which is used in the creation of the model of disfavour in Samuel-Kings, the worship of a god or gods other than Yahweh. The element of disfavour is sharpened by placing Baalzebub outside of Israel. The total rejection of the religion of other peoples and their gods which is a very strong theme in Samuel-Kings functions here to create Ahaziah into a representative of the model of disfavour.

On the other hand, Hezekiah's support of the Yahweh cult, especially his acts of reform place him in a special relationship to Yahweh. His rejection of alien cultic symbols and consequently the gods they represent, singles him out as a fervent champion of the Yahweh cult. This probably more than any other deed credited to him, identifies him as a royal model of favour.

(ii) The king's cultic response to his sickness

Ahaziah seeks help
from Baalzebub of
Ekron (II Kings 1:2)

Hezekiah prays to Yahweh
(II Kings 20:2)

In the light of the question posed in II Kings 1:2b, 6b and 16, Ahaziah's attempt to consult Baalzebub about his illness is interpreted as an outright betrayal of Yahweh. But these verses also wrestle with the question of how much, and indeed what type of power can be ascribed to gods other than Yahweh. This power as reflected in the command of Ahaziah, is directly related to the ability to know the future. Vs.3 however insists that this ability is also that of Yahweh. Again the narrator seems to assume that both Yahweh and Baalzebub exist. It seems therefore that it is primarily Yahweh's prerogative in Israel as opposed to his power vis-a-vis that of Baalzebub, that is the basic concern of the narrator.

The cultic response of the king is therefore approached from this angle. That there is a God in Israel which of course is the presupposition of the narrator, casts Ahaziah into the mould of a traitor to Yahweh. Here is one of the most important elements in his creation into a model of disfavour. The crucial role of the king in the relationship between Yahweh and people is definitely at work.⁷⁸ Ahaziah becomes one who destroys rather than cements and strengthens this relationship. His response to his sickness thus becomes in the narrative an indicator of the religious characteristics that separate him from true Yahwism.

Hezekiah's response to his sickness creates him instantly into a model of favour. His response is one of prayer, which presents him as a man of piety. It is this

theme of the king's piety that is emphasized in the words of the prayer:

Then Hezekiah turned his face to the wall and prayed..... "Remember now O Lord I beseech thee, how I have walked before thee in faithfulness and with a whole heart, and have done what is good in thy sight."

(Vss. 2-3)

Gray points out that report about the king turning his face to the wall should be understood as 'a symbolic act of renunciation of the world and turning to God alone.'⁷⁹ It therefore represents a high point in the pious response of the king to his illness and its outcome as pronounced by Isaiah in vs. 1. This functions to create him into a model of favour.

But it is the content of the prayer that reveals the true piety of the king. We may note how the relationship between Yahweh and the king is underlined as being genuine and indeed perfect. The king is said to walk before Yahweh in 'truth,' and with a 'whole heart.' The 'truth' of Hezekiah's response to Yahweh, to which his resort to prayer can be seen to lend some support, can be contrasted with Ahaziah's denial of 'truth,' i.e., the availability of Yahweh to respond to his sickness. The two kings therefore stand as direct opposites.

The narrator of the Hezekiah prayer, like the narrator of Ahaziab's attempts to consult Baalzebub, touches directly on the power of Yahweh. But it is Hezekiah who is made out to be the one who acknowledges this power. That he

touches on Yahweh's power to remember his actions in the past, seems to point to Yahweh's ability to control both past and present. But it is especially with Yahweh's power in the present as well as in the future, that the prayer is directly concerned. This power will obviously be manifested in the cure of the king.

The entire response of the two kings to their sickness functions to create them into particular models of kingship. The response of Ahaziah is now shaped to depict him as forsaking Yahweh for another god. Its present shape therefore greatly assists in creating Ahaziah into a model of disfavour. The story of Hezekiah's response to his sickness has the opposite effect. He is presented as a man of piety who appeals to the power and mercy of Yahweh. This plays a crucial part in his formation into a model of favour.

(iii) Yahweh's message concerning the king's sickness, in the light of his response

Ahaziah will not recover from his illness but will die, (1:4).

Hezekiah will be healed and will go to the house of Yahweh, (20:5).

The message of Yahweh concerning the outcome of Ahaziah's sickness, is related directly to his attempt to consult Baalzebub of Ekron. Thus the refusal to call upon Yahweh has death as its direct consequence. The fate of the king is graphically related in vs.4. His going up is placed over against his not coming down. His bed becomes the place of death. The king is condemned, first of all, to a

static state of impotence. But the ultimate outcome of Yahweh's judgement upon him is death (. קִי מוֹת תָּמוּת). There is therefore, a move from sickness, to confinement to a sick bed, to death.

The link between Yahweh's judgement and infidelity to the Yahweh cult recalls similar links in the prophetic literature.⁸⁰ In this section of the Ahaziah material it is similarly placed within a prophetic context. The message of Yahweh is delivered through his prophet Elijah. Against the background of the role given to Elijah in I Kings 17-19, 21, his words in I Kings 1:6 and 16 represent no less than the direct intervention of Yahweh in the affairs of the king. This point is made even stronger by having these words delivered to Elijah by the angel of Yahweh.⁸¹ This places the seal upon the efficacy of the words of judgement. The judgement constitutes a strong indicator that the one upon whom it is pronounced, namely Ahaziah, exists in a very poor relationship with Yahweh. In other words, he is a royal model of disfavour.

The message of Yahweh to Hezekiah is one of salvation which inevitably assists in the creation of the king into a model of favour. This message must be seen against the message of the prophet Isaiah in vs.1b. It is in the context of the promise of death, צוֹר לְגִיתָהּ כִּי מָת אָתָּה וְלֹא תִחְיֶה that the promise of life (vs.5) is to be understood. The promise is therefore a direct reversal of II Kings 20:1b. This is emphasized through the command of the prophet to turn back (שׁוּב) and impart the promise to the king. The word שׁוּב is absent from the parallel text in Is.38:5, which has הֲלֹךְ instead. But the word שׁוּב seems to carry far more theological

significance in Samuel-kings than **הָלֹךְ**. Wolff has connected its presence with a demand to those being addressed, to repent and return to Yahweh.⁸² Although the exact interpretation cannot be applied to the use of **שׁוּב** by the narrator in II Kings 20, as a direct address to Isaiah, it can be interpreted as a demand placed upon him to 'turn back' from his earlier pronouncement. This holds true, even if vs.5 can be seen as a new response that comes as a result of Hezekiah's prayer.

The content of vs.5, like the prayer of vs.3, stresses the piety of Hezekiah and so is very important in the process of his creation into a model of favour. The important section of the verse is that which notes Yahweh's direct intervention into Hezekiah's personal crisis :

כֹּה-אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי דָוִד אֲבִיךָ שְׁמַעְתִּי
אֶת-תְּפִלָּתְךָ וְרִאִיתִי אֶת-דִּמְעָתְךָ הֶנְנִי רֹפֵא
לְךָ בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי תַעֲלֶה בֵּית יְהוָה

The term **דָּוִד אֲבִיךָ** instantly creates an important bond between Hezekiah and the prototype of the royal model of favour, David.⁸³ The promise of Hezekiah's recovery and his visit to Yahweh's temple are however to be counted as contributing to the development of Hezekiah into a model of favour. The phrase **הֶנְנִי רֹפֵא לְךָ** stands in direct contrast to the threat of death against Ahaziah, **הַמָּוֶת**

(II Kings 1:4). **אֲשֶׁר-עָלִיתָ שָׁם לֹא-תֵרָד מִמֶּנָּה כִּי מוֹת תָּמוּת**

רֹפֵא and **מָוֶת** as they now function in the narratives, indicate two contrasting models of kingship.

The reference to the king going to **בֵּית יְהוָה** is understood by Montgomery/Gehman to indicate that the king's affliction was caused by an ulcer which debarred him from the

temple.⁸⁴ The text however does not identify the type of illness suffered by the king. The reference to the temple can be interpreted on a purely theological level, the salvation being brought to the king being closely linked to the temple, the symbol of this salvation. We can therefore compare Hezekiah's going to בֵּית יְהוָה, to the focal point of Yahweh's presence among his people, and Ahaziah sending to enquire of Baalzebub of Ekron ((Kings 1:2). Hezekiah's visit to the temple that comes as a direct result of his cure by Yahweh, marks him out as one who is favoured, just as Ahaziah's approach to Baalzebub identifies him a model of disfavour. One is made to illustrate the power and mercy of Yahweh, the other, the judgement of Yahweh upon those who reject him.

(iv) The attitude of the king to the prophet of Yahweh

<u>Ahaziah's</u> attitude seems to be one of hostility : he attempts to arrest Elijah (II Kings 1:9ff)	<u>Hezekiah's</u> attitude seems to be one of friendship : he consults Isaiah when faced with a crisis (19:2)
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That the attitude of Ahaziah to Elijah is to be understood as one of hostility, is conveyed through the role given to the army in the Ahaziah-Elijah relationship. The reader of II Kings 1 encounters the theme of hostility in vs. 8b, 9a. If these two are held together, we move from an identification of Elijah by the king, וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיָה הַתְּשָׁבִי הוּא (vs. 8b), to the king's sending a part of his army to arrest the prophet : וַיִּשְׁלַח אֵלָיו שָׂר-הַמִּקְשָׁיִם וַחֲמִשָּׁיִם.⁸⁵

That the military unit sent represents the smallest of the army,⁸⁶ does not in any way weaken the crucial idea that

there is friction between king and prophet.

Vs.9 clearly identifies the role played by the king in the prophet-army encounter. Along with being made directly responsible for the journey to the prophet of the

שָׂר-חֲמִשִּׁים וַחֲמִשִּׁיר the captain is made to issue the order, אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּבָר גָּדוֹל . As these words

now stand, the authority of the order is captured in the words הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּבָר .⁸⁷ It is the king rather than the

שָׂר-חֲמִשִּׁים who is placed in opposition to the prophet. That Elijah is portrayed as a genuine prophet of Yahweh, immediately casts the king into an anti-Yahwistic mould. This has the effect of creating him into a royal model of disfavour.

Unlike the Elijah-Ahaziah relationship, that between Isaiah and Hezekiah is depicted as one of mutual friendship.⁸⁸ This is strongly reflected in II Kings 19. There are a number of elements in this small pericope which seem geared to enhance the king's understanding of the crucial role of Yahweh's prophet in national affairs. The first element is the actual sending of a delegation to Isaiah. The presupposition is that the prophet is able to make a contribution that is crucial to the solving of the problem in which the king finds himself. The ignoring of Elijah by Ahaziah and the consultation of Isaiah by Hezekiah, stand in direct contrast to each other.

But the contrast between the two kings can also be seen to extend to another element, the composition of the group sent by the kings to the prophet. Over against the

שָׂר-חֲמִשִּׁים וַחֲמִשִּׁיר sent by Ahaziah to arrest Elijah, we have אֶת-אֲלִיָּהוּ אִשְׁרָאֵל-עַל-הַבֵּית וְשִׁבְנָא הַסֶּפֶר וְאֵת זִקְנֵי הַכְּהֹנִים

sent by Hezekiah to Isaiah. This group clearly represents a delegation whose chief function is one of petition, as the report that they are in sackcloth indicates. The idea of petition is surely at work in the last words of vs.4.⁸⁹ The king's request of the prophet is **וְנִשְׁאַתְּ תְּפִלָּה בְּעַד נִשְׁאַרִית הַנְּמַצָּאָה**. This touches on the close link that is understood to exist between the prophet and Yahweh. Hezekiah's image as a royal model of favour is undoubtedly enhanced by crediting him with having an awareness of this link.

Hezekiah is also presented as being aware of the power of Yahweh. Thus there is the hope that Yahweh will rebuke (**וְהוֹכִיחַ**) the words of the king of Assyria spoken by the Rabshakeh (vs.4). This brings into play the theme of the power of Yahweh versus that of the king of Assyria. A similar theme seems to be at work in the Ahaziah material, but here it is the power of Yahweh as represented by his prophet, versus that of the king of Israel. The destruction of the king's soldiers by 'fire from heaven' (I Kings 1:10,11, 12), is made to symbolize the conquest by Yahweh of that aspect of the king's power represented by the **שָׂרֵי-הַמִּשְׁפָּיִם וְהַמִּשְׁפָּיִר**. The destruction of the soldiers of Ahaziah by Yahweh helps to shape this king's image of disfavour, just as the fate of the Assyrian soldiers partly brought about the petition of Hezekiah, assist in his creation into a royal model of favour.

The two kings are therefore made to reflect two contrasting attitudes to the prophet of Yahweh. Given the important role given to the prophet in Samuel-Kings,⁹⁰ a king's failure to heed the prophet functions as a reflection of the anti-Yahwistic leanings of the king. It also presents him as a royal model of disfavour, since having a

'good' relationship with Yahweh's prophets is one of the indicators of 'good' kingship. It is on this basis that Ahaziah, credited with hostility towards Elijah, is a royal model of disfavour, and Hezekiah who is reported to have a close relationship with Isaiah, is a royal model of favour.

(v) The role of the angel of Yahweh in the crisis faced by the king

Ahaziah is threatened with death on the instigation of the angel of Yahweh
(II Kings 1:3,15)

Hezekiah's hope for the salvation of Jerusalem is realized through the destruction of part of the Assyrian army by the angel of Yahweh
(19:35)

Just as the prophet Elijah functions in the narrative of II Kings 1 to create Ahaziah into a model of disfavour, so the angel of Yahweh seems to do the same. The introduction of מַלְאָךְ יְהוָה at 1:3 is seen to reflect the influence of the Pentateuch.⁹¹ von Rad has pointed out in his discussion of the term in the Hexateuch, that this figure, 'wherever he is mentioned, immediately takes his place at the centre of the event'.⁹² That the angel of Yahweh plays a very central role in the Ahaziah narrative cannot be denied. It seems however that his role is geared to create a negative impression of Ahaziah. That the words spoken by the angel are the same words spoken by Elijah, seems to stress the importance of the angel in the bringing of the judgement of Yahweh upon the king.

The words of the angel then, constitute a factor of disfavour for Ahaziah. But his words in vs.15 וְאֵתָּךְ

וְאֵתָּךְ 93 is a direct attack on the power of the king. He and his army, will be unable to harm Elijah.

The interaction between angel and prophet in this verse, places the power of Yahweh, his angel, and Elijah, as a force that is superior to that of Ahijah and his soldiers. The words can also be seen as pointing to the inevitable outcome of the threat in vs.3. This verse along with vs.15, depicts the angel of Yahweh as one who highlights the anti-Yahwistic trend in Ahaziah, and so marks him out as a model of disfavour.

The historicity of the report that some one hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians died of the plague during their campaign against Judah, has long been treated with suspicion.⁹⁴ As the report in II Kings 19:35 now stands, it must be interpreted in the context of Hezekiah's approach to Isaiah (vss.2-4), his prayer (vss.15-19), and most of all, the role attributed to the prophet Isaiah (cf.vss.20ff). The report is therefore to be understood as a reflection of Yahweh's salvation.⁹⁵

In direct contrast to the angel in the Ahaziah material, the one in 19:35 brings Yahweh's salvation to the king. This salvation is of course greatly expanded through the number of Assyrians that are reported killed by the angel. But it seems however, that here as in the Ahaziah story, there is the theme of matching the power of Yahweh against that of a hostile army. That Hezekiah benefits from the outcome casts the work attributed to the angel of Yahweh into the mould of an effort to create the king into a model of favour.

We can safely claim that although the angels in the Ahaziah and Hezekiah stories function as instruments of Yahweh's judgement and salvation respectively, they are also made to exist in a specific relationship to the particular

king. The relationship between Ahaziah and the angel of Yahweh functions in the Ahaziah narrative to sustain this king as a model disfavour. On the other hand, the role given to the angel in the Hezekiah material serves to enhance the image of the king as someone who is very close to Yahweh. As such, he stands out as a very good representative of the model of favour.

All of the five theme discussed above have been drawn out of our major theme, 'The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult.' They all serve to strengthen this major theme, while at the same time affecting the creation of the kings into contrasting royal models. The following outline can serve to draw out the relationship between the discussion of our five minor themes, and the section which preceeds it.

Model of disfavour

A. Ahaziah did what was evil in the sight of the Lord. He walked in the way of his father and mother (I Kings 22:52).

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Ahaziah walked in the way of Jeroboam (I Kings 22:52).

Model of favour

Hezekiah did what was right in the sight of the Lord, according to all that David had done (II Kings 18:3).

Hezekiah removes Nehushtan from the temple and destroys it (II Kings 18:4).

He resorts to the temple at a time of crisis (19:1,4).

He cuts down the Asherah (18:4).

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Ahaziah strengthens the worship of Baal in Israel (I Kings 22:53), and he resorts to Baalzebub of Ekron in the time of crisis (II Kings 1:2-4).

Hezekiah strengthens the Yahweh cult through reform (II Kings 18:4).

Model of disfavourModel of favourFirst Theme

The king's attitude to alien deities

Ahaziah served and worshipped Baal (I Kings 22:54).

Hezekiah removed the high places, and broke down the pillars, i.e., he destroyed the symbols used in the worship of Baal (II Kings 18:4).

Second Theme

The king's cultic responses to his sickness

Ahaziah seeks help from Baalzebub of Ekron (II Kings 1:2).

Hezekiah prays to Yahweh (II Kings 20:2).

Third Theme

Yahweh's message concerning the king's sickness, in the light of the king's response

Ahaziah will not recover from his illness but will die (II Kings 1:4).

Hezekiah will be healed and will go to the house of Yahweh (II Kings 20:5).

Fourth Theme

The king's attitude to the prophet of Yahweh

Ahaziah's attitude is one of hostility: he attempts to arrest Elijah (II Kings 1:9ff).

Hezekiah's attitude is one of friendship: he consults Isaiah when faced with a crisis (II Kings 19:2).

Fifth Theme

The role of the angel of Yahweh in the crisis faced by the king

Ahaziah is threatened with death on the instigation of the angel of Yahweh (II Kings 1:3,15).

Hezekiah's hope for the salvation of Jerusalem is realized through the destruction of part of the Assyrian army by the angel of Yahweh (II Kings 19:35).

4. The Kingship of Ahaziah and Hezekiah: Wrestling with the tension of Hope and Disaster

The kingship of Ahaziah and Hezekiah even like that of Ahab and Josiah, continues to wrestle with the tension which emerges when the element of hope is held alongside that of national destruction. Ahaziah like his father Ahab, sustains the theme of disaster which becomes one of the crucial elements used in the creation as well as in the re-creation of the model of disfavour. His rejection of Yahweh brings about his own destruction (II Kings 1:17) but the destruction of his soldiers may be pointing to the extension of this destructive power beyond himself.

But the role of Elijah in the narrative seems to gather up the elements of hope and disaster that are at work in the narrative. He pronounces judgement/disaster upon the king which is the direct consequence of the king's rejection of Yahweh (1:3ff). At the same time however, the very presence of the prophet of Yahweh must surely constitute an element of hope. The cause of Yahweh is being kept alive in the land. Hope and disaster become juxtaposed in the king-prophet relationship.

This feature is also to be found in the Hezekiah material. There is a powerful element of hope and at its centre stands Isaiah the prophet of Yahweh. The hope which has been built into the Hezekiah material draws upon the tradition of Yahweh as the protector and defender of Zion. This understanding of Yahweh's relationship with Zion becomes the basis of hope for the nation. It seems to point the nation to a good and positive future.

There is also at work in the Hezekiah material, a strong theme of disaster/judgement. The kingship of Hezekiah even more so than that of Ahaziah becomes the arena for some deep wrestling with hope and disaster as these are reflected in the experiences of the nation. Once more it is the prophet of Yahweh who combines these two contrasting features of the nation's life. In the narratives dealing with the Assyrian threat to Jerusalem, the Assyrians embody the theme of disaster (II Kings 18:1-19:37). But in ch.20 in the story about the visit of the Babylonian envoys to Jerusalem, there is a shift of the disaster theme. The king rather than a foreign power is made responsible for the disaster which will engulf the nation (20:12ff).

The prophet functions in each narrative as an instrument of proclamation. In the first narrative, he is the channel through which disaster is directed to the enemy of the people and indeed of Yahweh, Assyria. He stands as a channel and symbol of hope for the nation. In the narrative of ch.20:12-19, he proclaims the destruction of the nation and so becomes the channel and symbol of disaster. Although this disaster is clearly presented as being of the king's own making, it is the prophet who attaches the consequences of national disaster to the actions of the king.

In both the Ahaziah and Hezekiah material, it is a prophetic figure who functions to cement the relationship between certain actions of the king and the hope and/or disaster at work in the nation. But it is the king who embodies these conflicting and contrasting sides of the nation's life. Kingship becomes almost a melting pot in which good and bad, hope and disaster meet.

Jehu and Manasseh bring this mixture to a high melting point. Jehu reverses the bad disastrous traits implanted in the nation by the Ahab dynasty, even as Manasseh reverses the good hopeful traits of Hezekiah and the other reforming Davidic kings. But the sin of Jeroboam remains the stumbling block in Jehu's efforts to lead his nation away from disaster. It is to the Jehu and Manasseh material that we now turn, to discover how good and bad, hope and disaster are juxtaposed and function as indicators not only of the type of model the kings represent, but also the kind of future they create for their nations.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.458, 465;
Burney, Kings, pp.260-261.
2. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.459.
3. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.657.
4. cf. Childs, B.S. Isaiah and the Assyrian Crisis, SBT
Second Series, No. 3 (London, 1967) pp.76ff.
5. Most of this material as we intend to demonstrate,
creates Hezekiah into a man of piety, and consequently
into a royal model of favour.
6. cf. above, pp.125-128; 188-196; 260-266.
7. cf. Ellis, P.F. '1-2 Kings,' p.197.
8. *ibid.*
9. cf. below, pp. 327-328.
10. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, pp.92-93.
11. cf. above, pp. 64ff.
12. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.458.
13. cf. Hoffmann, Hans-D, Reform und Reformen, p.83.
14. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte; pp.92-93.
15. This verse is rendered in the plural in LXX.
cf. Burney, Kings, p.260.
16. cf. above, pp.260ff.
17. *ibid.*
18. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p.42.
19. cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, p.83;
Gray, I & II Kings, p.458.
20. On the importance of the king for the cultic response
of the people, as set out in Samuel-Kings,
cf. Pedersen, J. Israel III-IV, p.575.
21. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, pp.458-459.
22. On this retort,
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.463;

22. (Continued)
Montgomery, Kings, p.349.
23. This interpretation means that the units of the king's army sent to arrest Elijah are to be understood as representatives of the king and people of the North.
24. Gray, I & II Kings, p.464.
25. Montgomery, Kings, p.350.
26. *ibid.*
27. *ibid.*
cf. also, De Vries, Prophet Against Prophet, pp.62-63.
28. cf. above,
29. cf. Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judaeon History, pp. 388ff.
30. II Sam. 7 of course represents the high point in the development of the Davidic ideal.
cf. above pp. 135ff.
31. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.655;
Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, p.147.
32. cf. The comment of Nelson, that this verse constitutes an 'element in courtly praise' that can be compared with the phrase, 'let the king live forever' (Neh.2:3). Double Redaction, pp.83-84.
33. For a discussion of similar comments about Josiah,
cf. above, pp. 275ff.
34. cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, p.146.
35. Gray, I & II Kings, p.671.
36. *ibid.*
37. cf. I Sam. 18:28; also above, pp. 35ff.
38. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.671.
39. De Vries, Prophet Against Prophet, p.73.
40. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.687.
41. De Vries, Prophet Against Prophet, p.64.

42. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem,
p. 66.
43. Ackroyd, P. 'An Interpretation of the Babylonian Exile:
A Study of 2 Kings 20, Isaiah 38-39', SJT 27
(1974) 329-352.
44. cf. Ackroyd's argument that all the stories in the
Hezekiah material can be seen to focus on the theme
of hope for Judah, SJT 27 (1974) pp.332ff.
45. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p.165;
Barrois, G. A. 'Pillar,' IDB Vol.3, p.815.
46. cf. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem,
p. 14.
47. On the power of the Rabshekah versus that of Yahweh,
cf. Ackroyd, SJT 27 (1974) p.349.
48. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, p.56.
49. Gray, I & II Kings, p.688; also
Montgomery, Kings, p.493.
50. Montgomery, Kings, p.493.
51. cf. Halpern, B., 'The Centralization Formula in Deuteronomy'
VT 31 (1981) 20-38.
52. Welhausen, J. Prolegomena to the History of Israel,
pp.17ff.
53. Alt, A. 'Die Heimat des Deuteronomiums' KS zur
Geschichte des Volkes Israel 2 (München, 1953),
pp.250-275.

von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, pp.45-73.

Noth, Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels, (Stuttgart,
1930).

cf. also, McKay, J. Religion in Judah, p.17.
54. cf. Todd, E. W. 'The Reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah'
SJT 9, 1956 288-293.
55. cf. Pfeiffer, R. Introduction, pp.379-381.

Bentzen, A. Introduction to the Old Testament,
(Copenhagen, 1958) pp. 96ff.

56. cf. McKay, Religion in Judah, p.13.
57. cf. Ackroyd, SJT 27 (1974) p.350.
58. cf. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, pp.13ff.
59. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.660:
60. cf. Childs, Isaiah, pp.69ff.
61. But cf. the reservations expressed by:
Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, pp.72ff.
62. cf. above, pp. 83ff.
63. cf. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, pp.28ff.
64. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.685; also
Montgomery, Kings, p. 491.
65. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.685.
66. Kaiser, O. Isaiah 13-39. A Commentary Trans. R. A. Wilson,
(London, 1969) p.376.
67. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, p.57.
68. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.691.
69. On the relationship between these two themes and Isaiah,
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.693;
Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, p.57.
70. Montgomery, Kings, p.497;
Ellis, '1-2 Kings,' p.206.
71. ibid.. also
Gray, I & II Kings, p.497.
72. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, p.77.
73. cf. above, p. 333ff.
74. cf. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, pp.85ff.

75. cf. the use of the plural by LXX. This undoubtedly increases the 'gravity' of Ahaziah's sin.
76. cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, pp.712-715.
77. cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, p.1005.
78. cf. Poulssen, König und Tempel, pp.87ff.
79. Gray, I & II Kings, p.697;
cf. also, Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, p.65.
80. cf. von Rad's discussion on the role of the prophetic material in Samuel-Kings, Studies in Deuteronomy, pp.78ff.
81. On significance of the angel,
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.463.
82. Wolff, 'Kerygma', pp.84ff.
83. cf. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, p.65.
84. Montgomery, Kings, p.507.
85. cf. Ellis, '1-2 Kings,' p.197.
86. De Vaux, Ancient Israel, p.226.
87. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.350.
88. The exception to this would be the story of ch.20; 12-19.
But cf. above, n.44.
89. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.684.
90. cf. Pedersen, Israel III-IV, p.575.
91. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.463.
92. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, p.286.
93. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.462 on the grammatical problems relating to this verse.
94. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.694.
95. cf. von Rad, Theology, Vol.I, p.286.

CHAPTER 7

JEHU AND MANASSEH : TWO 'ODD'¹ REPRESENTATIVES
OF THE TWO ROYAL MODELS

The Delimitation of the two units

1. The Jehu material (II Kings 9:1 - 10:36)

(a) The story of the reign and exploits of Jehu are now closely interwoven with a part of the Elisha tradition.² If indeed II Kings 9:1-10 is treated as a part of the Elisha tradition,³ the Jehu story proper can be seen to begin in 9:11. 9:11 - 10:36 appears to be a continuous story recounting the reign of Jehu. The end of the material, 10:34-36, constitutes an 'epilogue' and 'obituary notice'⁴ forming an appropriate conclusion to the story of the reign of Jehu.

It seems as if the material contained in 9:1-10, in spite of the prominent role given to Elisha, is also directly concerned with the reign of Jehu. The material is directly concerned with his rise to kingship.⁵ In our analysis therefore, 9:1-10 will be treated as an integral part of the Jehu material. The crucial role played by Elisha will of course be taken into account. We shall be treating 9:1 - 10:36 as the extent of the Jehu material.

The Manasseh material (II Kings 21:1 - 18)

(b) The Manasseh material has the traditional introduction (cf. II Kings 21:1-2) and conclusion (21:17-18) that is associated with the reigns of the kings of Judah.⁶ It is

therefore clearly identifiable as a unit. All of the material in the unit seems geared to creating Manasseh into an evil king, a point which will be examined in greater detail later in the chapter. There seems to be no dispute about the extent of the material now credited to the reign of Manasseh. In keeping with consensus, II Kings 21:1-18 will be treated as the extent of this material.

2. The relationship of the models created around Jehu and Manasseh to the prototypes of disfavour and favour

In the light of our discussion so far on the creation of the northern kings into models of disfavour, and the southern kings Hezekiah and Josiah into models of favour, Jehu and Manasseh do not fit into this neat pattern of North: disfavour, and South: favour. Jehu stands out as being very close to the model of favour, by virtue of his assault on the Baal cult of the North. Manasseh is clearly a model of disfavour, given his support of non-Yahwistic cults and consequently his 'contamination' of Jerusalem. If at this stage we attempt to set out the relationship between the two kings to the two 'prototypes' in the context of our three basic themes, the pattern would be as follows:

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

<u>Model of Disfavour</u>	<u>Model of Favour</u>	<u>Jehu : A Model of Favour</u>	<u>Manasseh : A model of Disfavour</u>
Jeroboam is an usurper ruling over a legitimate part of the Davidic kingdom (I Kings 12:26-27)	David who was elected to replace the rejected Saul, is the legitimate ruler of all Israel (I Sam.6:20-23)		
The house of Jeroboam will be cut off and destroyed from the face of the earth (13:4)	The house of David will be established forever (7:16,29)	Because Jehu did what was right in the eyes of Yah- weh, he will hold the throne of Israel for four gener- ations (10:30)	Manasseh stands in stark contrast to Hezekiah, imitates the way of Ahab, and brings the 'plummet of Ahab' upon Jerusalem (21:2-4,13)
Yahweh will bring evil upon the house of Jero- boam.... (14:10,11,14)	There are threats to the Davidic house, but these are settled and David hands over his kingdom in peace to Solomon (II Sam.9-20)		

B. The legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence

The bull images made by Jeroboam and declared the god(s) of the Exodus are illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence. (12:28-30; cf. also 13:1-3;14-9)	The Ark is the only legiti- mate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence (6:6-12b; 7:1-7; 15:29)	Although Jehu carried out an extensive reform and removed Baal from the North, yet he did not turn from the Sin of Jeroboam, i.e. he wor- shipped at the bull shrines of Dan and Bethel (10:28,31)	Manasseh placed an image of Asherah and altars for all the hosts of heaven in the Jerusalem temple (vss.4,7)
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C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

<u>Model of Disfavour</u>	<u>Model of Favour</u>	<u>Jehu : A Model of Favour</u>	<u>Manasseh : A Model of Disfavour</u>
The northern shrines of Dan and Bethel con- stitute an illegitimate cult... (12:30-33)	Jerusalem where the Ark is housed, is the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult (6:16-19; 7:12-13)	Jehu wipes out the Baal cult from the North (10:18ff)	Manasseh : Followed practices of the nations of whom Yahweh drove out before Israel Rebuilt high places Worshipped the host of heaven Burned his son as an offering Practised soothsaying and augury and dealt with mediums and wizards All the nation was seduced to do more evil than the nations whom Yahweh des- troyed before the people of Israel (vs.2ff)

The work credited to Jehu stands in direct contrast to that of Manasseh. Jehu receives criticism in only one of the areas above, that dealing with 'the legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence'. Manasseh is however thoroughly criticized, and depicted as having done absolutely nothing to build up the Yahweh cult in Jerusalem. Our task now is to examine in more detail, the 'credits' and 'accusations' levelled at the two kings.

(a) II Kings 19:1 - 10:36

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Unlike the other northern kings, Jehu is promised a dynasty (10:30). The promise is directly linked to his annihilation of another dynasty, that of Ahab. The verse in question (vs.10), which is thought to be the work of a later Deuteronomic editor,⁷ seems to strike a careful relation between doing right before Yahweh, and the survival of a dynasty. We can contrast this with the relationship between apostasy and destruction as reflected in the Jeroboam and Ahab material.⁸ Jehu's dynasty is affirmed rather than condemned as the dynasties of these two kings are (cf. I Kings 13:4; 21:21).

The affirmative tenor of the verse is conveyed through the idea of a direct speech from Yahweh to Jehu :

.....יְהוָה אֵל-יִזְחָבָא. When it is noted that most of the contact between Yahweh and the kings is reported as coming through a prophet (cf. I Kings 14:21; 21:17ff), the presence of a direct divine promise to Jehu must surely represent an element of favour.⁹ It identifies the intimacy

that should be understood to be existing between king and Yahweh.¹⁰

But it is the dynastic implication of the speech that is our main concern. Jehu is promised בְּנֵי רַבְעִים לְשָׁנָה לְךָ עַל-כֵּן? . Here the king is promised the longest reigning dynasty of the northern kingdom.¹¹ A measure of legitimacy is therefore granted to the Jehu dynasty. The careful noting in II Kings 15:12 that the promise of Yahweh to Jehu was fulfilled, serves to underline the divine approval of the dynasty and its founder.

The phrase בְּנֵי רַבְעִים is surely an attempt to account for the survival of the Jehu dynasty in terms of divine promise. It recalls similar attempts to account for the survival of the Davidic dynasty. We can therefore compare the promise made to David in II Sam.7:16 with that made to Jehu. The two kings seem to be given the type of dynastic security that is not given to other kings in Samuel-Kings. There is also another factor that creates a measure of similarity between the two kings, and carries some implications for the dynastic question. Both kings are anointed secretly by a prophetic figure on the instigation of Yahweh. (cf. I Sam. 16; II Kings 9:1-3). Both anointings are to be understood as an indication of Yahweh's rejection of the incumbent dynasty.¹² The one anointed is therefore to be drawn into a special relationship with Yahweh. That this type of divine initiative is linked only to the rise of David and Jehu, and their dynasties, must surely be deemed a favourable element. In each case a measure of legitimacy is imposed upon the dynasty.

But the phrase בְּנֵי רַבְעִים can also be interpreted as indicating that Jehu is not to be understood as a

northern counterpart to David. The phrase itself places certain restrictions upon the survival of the Jehu dynasty, and consequently upon the nature of its legitimacy. That the dynasty was able to survive for four generations was undoubtedly due to the political environment of the day.¹³ But 10:30 places it within a context that is often associated with the Deuteronomic group : the rejection of all anti-Yahwistic cultic influence leads to longer survival 'in the land'.¹⁴ Historical fact is subjected to a more restrictive theological interpretation.

The linking of Jehu to the destruction of the house of Ahab, can be counted as a positive appraisal of the former's dynasty. The equating of זַעַן אֲשֶׁר - הִסִּיכָהּ

כָּל אֲשֶׁר בְּלִבָּי לַעֲשׂוֹת הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינַי with the phrase

צִוְּתָהּ לְבֵית אָחָב cites the removal of the house of Ahab as an act of divine approval. It is this approval that is emphasized in the promise that Jehu's house will last

בְּנֵי רַבְעִים. Of course we meet the destruction of Ahab's house by Jehu within material that clearly has a strong theological bias against the house of Ahab. This undoubtedly raises some serious questions about how far the events being described can be taken as history.¹⁵ They probably represent little more than an attempt to interpret the fate of the Ahab dynasty as divine judgement. That the destruction of the dynasty is now presented as the fulfilment of Elijah's prophecy,¹⁶ not only heightens the significance of the fate of the dynasty, but casts the one who carries out the judgement, that is Jehu, in a state of favour. His own dynasty is made to take the place of the one which has been rejected and destroyed.

The most outstanding member of the Jehu dynasty was of course Jeroboam II.¹⁷ Although like all other northern kings he is condemned for following the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat (II Kings 14:24), he is still depicted as a saviour of his nation (cf. vs.18) and consequently a good representative of his dynasty.¹⁸

The reports on Jeroboam's reign should probably be interpreted in the context of the promise to Jehu in 10:30. It should also be pointed out that the assassination of the last member of the dynasty, Zechariah, is related to the same promise (15:11-12).¹⁹ The two events function as reminders of the limitations of the dynastic promise to Jehu. At the same time they also reflect the conviction that a special relationship existed between the dynasty and Yahweh.

It is the theme of this special relationship that constitutes another claim for the legitimacy of the Jehu dynasty. It is presented as one with which Yahweh is directly involved and so can be contrasted with the dynasty of Ahab. But as we have pointed out above, the fact that certain restrictions of time are placed on the dynasty are at the same time restrictions on any comparisons with the Davidic dynasty. The phrase פִּסְאָהּ יְהוָה נִכּוֹן עַד-עוֹלָם (II Sam.7:16b), cannot be confused with בְּיָמֵי רְבִעָם יִשְׁכְּבָהּ (II Kings 10:30) as promised to Jehu.

לֵךְ עַל-כִּסֵּא יִשְׁרָאֵל (II Kings 10:30) as promised to Jehu. In spite of the element of favour imposed upon the Jehu dynasty, it is in no way to be confused with Israel's only legitimate dynasty, that of David.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

This theme is touched on in 10:29, 31. These two verses are usually attributed to the 'Deuteronomistic compiler',²⁰ and constitute a negative comment on the achievements of Jehu. Vs.29 identifies him as a firm supporter of the calf worship instituted by Jeroboam I :

וְקָחָם יְרֵבְעָם בֶּן-נִבְטָאֲשֶׁר הַחֲטִיָּא
אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא-סָר יְהוָה מֵאַחֲרֵיהֶם עֲגָלֵי
הַזָּהָב אֲשֶׁר בֵּית-אֵל וְאֲשֶׁר בְּדָן

(cf.also, vs.31)

It is claimed that it was a later hand that identified the sin of Jeroboam in vs.29a with the golden calves in vs.29b.²¹ According to this view, vs.29b is therefore to be treated as an expansion of vs.29a.

Jehu's not turning (לֹא-סָר) from חֲטֵאֵי יְרֵבְעָם apporitions to him ardent support for the shrines of Dan and Bethel. He thus falls in line with the other northern kings who are all accused of not rejecting the bull symbols of these two shrines. Viewed against the statement of vs.28 וַיִּשְׁמַד

יְהוָה אֶת-הַבַּעַל מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל

Jehu's support for Dan and Bethel can be understood to be uncharacteristic of this king. It is highly possible that if vs.28 is read in close association with vs.29, there is an attempt to equate the anti-Baalistic trends as practised by Jehu, with the conviction that the temple with its Ark is the only legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence. This assumption of course glosses over the many factors that weakened allegiance to Ark and temple in the North.²²

The period of Jehu is therefore presented as one in which the illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence persisted in the North, in spite of the extensive reforms of Jehu. This constitutes a direct contrast to the general impression given of the northern cult during the Jehu era. But it seems as if the narrative is addressing what was an obvious contradiction in the Jehu image as a pro-Yahwistic king; his failure to remove the bull shrines of Dan and Bethel.²³ This failure undoubtedly emphasizes the political significance that was probably attached to the shrines. The North was therefore still independent of the South, an independence that was manifested in its independent shrines.

But the reference to the persistence of the shrines in the context of Jehu's reformation, should probably be understood as the narrator's indication of the deeprooted nature of יִרְבָּעָם. Vss. 29 and 31 can therefore be treated as acting as a counter-balance to the report about the demise of the Baal cult in the North. It is indeed vs. 29b that constitutes the real counterbalance by actually defining the יִרְבָּעָם in terms of עֲגֹלֵי הַזָּהָב.²⁴ The story of I Kings 12:25ff is again forcefully reintroduced. Vss. 29 and 31 can therefore be treated as condemnations of Jeroboam I as well as Jehu. Even if vs. 29 is treated as a later gloss, it seems intent on reminding the reader of what for the narrator, is the serious nature of Jeroboam's sin. The term עֲגֹלֵי הַזָּהָב brings the image motif to the fore as in the Jeroboam material.²⁵ Given the fact that the pre-supposition of Samuel-Kings is that there can be only one cultic object to represent Yahweh, namely the Ark, the עֲגֹלֵי הַזָּהָב of vs. 29 as is the case in the Jeroboam material, automatically

become rivals of the Ark and the Jerusalem temple. Their presence during Jehu's reign as during that of Jeroboam I, is counted as being contrary to the legitimate Yahweh cult.

This point is further developed through the link that is created between Jehu's allegiance to the bull shrines of Dan and Bethel and the loss of a part of his kingdom (vss.32-33).²⁶ Hence the direct consequence of לא-דָּר

הָיָה מֵאֲחֵרֵי הַיָּמִים הַהֵם is defeat by a stronger military power. The events noted are those that reflect the Syrian expansionist policy under Hazael which saw the decline of Israel.²⁷ But they are reported in vss.32-33 as Yahweh's judgement upon Jehu's and Israel's allegiance to the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel. The phrase הָיָה מֵאֲחֵרֵי הַיָּמִים הַהֵם

לְקִצּוֹת בְּיָמֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ (vs.32) stands as a clear indication that Hazael's policy is to be linked to the report of vss.29 and 31. Thus בְּיָמֵי is probably to be understood as more than a simple demarcation of time. It can also be interpreted as a reminder of the illegitimate cultic status of the North as reported in vss.29 and 31. Indeed one can treat vs.32 as a logical development out of vs.31 given the close relationship between control of the land and allegiance to Yahweh as set out in Samuel-Kings.²⁸

We can safely claim that the Jehu material addresses the problem of the legitimate representation of Yahweh's legitimate power and presence. In spite of the strong anti-Baalistic trend of the material, and the prominent role of Jehu in this, there is still the frank acknowledgement that

הָיָה מֵאֲחֵרֵי הַיָּמִים הַהֵם were very much present in the Jehu era. This acknowledgement transforms the reform of Jehu as only a partial reform. It is reported as solving one cultic problem

while ignoring another. The North is therefore reported to have made great strides towards cultic legitimacy, but the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel still functioned as illegitimate symbols of Yahweh's power and presence.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

As in the Hezekiah and Josiah material, the theme of reform dominates the story of Jehu. Reports of the reform of Jehu are at the same time reports of an attempt to transform the cult of the North into a legitimate Yahweh cult. Hence the people as well as the objects removed represent the introduction of alien elements into the Yahweh cult. It would seem therefore that there are two distinct factors of the Jehu reform that are crucial for the analysis of our present theme.

The first is the removal of the dynasty of Ahab which is depicted as having very strong anti-Yahwistic inclinations. The theme of the Ahab dynasty as an avid supporter of anti-Yahwistic trends is very much at work in the Jehu material. The removal of the members of the dynasty becomes one of the reform actions of Jehu. There is first of all the removal of Joram (9:24). This king is introduced in 3:1-3 with a somewhat favourable comment on his cultic disposition. Although he is accused of doing evil, he is presented as being less evil than his parents Ahab and Jezebel. He is therefore credited with an assault on the cult of Baal by the removal of אֶת-מִצְבֹּת הַבַּעַל made by his father.²⁹ This has been interpreted by Ellis as a

'token concession to the loyal Yahwist'.³⁰ But the crediting of this action to the king could also be an attempt to depict the previous reign, that of Ahab, as being one of unparalleled cultic depravity.

In spite of the positive comments on Joram, he is still very closely identified with Ahab. The reference to him as **בן-אחאב** (8:28;9:29) clearly identifies this king with his father. He is therefore identified with one who is accused of increasing the anti-Yahwistic element of the northern cult to unprecedented levels.³¹ The words of Jehu in 9:22 constitute yet another close identification of Joram with his parents, on this occasion his mother.³² The phrase

...וְכַשְׁפִּיָּהּ אִי־זָבַל אֶמֶר וְכַשְׁפִּיָּהּ recalls the cultic status of the North under the influence of Jezebel. It seems as if this status is seen as continuing under Joram.

Gray has pointed out that the **וְכַשְׁפִּיָּהּ** of 9:22 'refers to ritual prostitution as a rite of imitative magic in the fertility cult of the Canaanite Baal'.³³ This term can therefore be understood as a reference to the depravity of the Jezebel influenced northern cult. The association of

וְכַשְׁפִּיָּהּ which occurs in vs.22 is also to be found in Neh.3:4. Gressmann interprets **וְכַשְׁפִּיָּהּ** as an amulet of the fertility goddess used in Canaanite religion.³⁴ Montgomery/Gehman on the other hand interpret the term as a reference to the 'false cults whose potency was ascribed to evil arts'.³⁵

However the two words are interpreted, they represent in vs.22 the prime reason for the death of Joram.³⁶ His removal is nothing short of the destruction of the influence of his mother Jezebel. His death represents in

the story of Jehu's reform a blow for Yahwism in the North. That the act is deemed a direct fulfilment of prophecy (vss.25-26) constitutes a positive acclamation for the new cultic status of the North as brought on by the reform of Jehu.

The death of Ahaziah on the command of Jehu is also to be interpreted as another positive move for Yahwism (vs.27). His introduction in 8:25-27 identifies him as a close descendant of Ahab as well as an ardent supporter of the cultic policies of this king. According to De Vries both Joram and Ahaziah were 'protectors and proteges of the hated Jezebel'.³⁷ The death of Ahaziah would therefore seem to suggest that the zeal for Yahwism manifested by Jehu had implications for the cult of the South as well. His actions here can probably be compared with the move by Josiah to 'rectify' the cult of Bethel (23:15ff).³⁸ The cultic illegitimacy introduced in the South by Ahaziah is therefore dealt a decisive blow through the removal of Ahaziah.³⁹

But one of the most dramatic onslaughts on the illegitimacy of the northern cult is surely the removal of Jezebel (9:30-37). The report of her death is obviously to be linked to the accusations against her in vs.22. Her death comes as a direct consequence of her וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַחַתְּ בָּהּ and וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַחַתְּ בָּהּ which seem to summarize the presentation of her in the Ahab material.⁴⁰ That there is careful noting of the fulfilment of prophecy about her death emphasizes the cultic significance of this act. As a fulfilment of prophecy, it represents a resurgence of Yahwism in the place that was once under the cult of Baal.

The emphasis on the demise of the Ahab dynasty and

consequently its cultic influence, can be treated as a strong indicator of the return to a cultic status that was very close to that of the legitimate Yahweh cult. This point is further stressed in the report of the death of the priests who functioned under Ahab (10:11). The priests here mentioned are thought to have held both civil and religious office.⁴¹ It seems however that they can also be understood as representing those who are absolutely crucial for the survival of the type of religion perpetuated by Ahab. Their death signifies the removal of one of the elements that sustained the cultic illegitimacy of the North.

But the attack on the illegitimacy of the northern cult by Jehu is presented as one that leads to the total destruction of the Baal cult. We may note the persons and items destroyed :

- (a) קָל-נְבִיאַי הַבַּעַל
- (b) קָל-עֲבָדָיו
- (c) קָל-כֹּהֲנָיו 42
- (d) מִצֵּבַת הַבַּעַל
- (e) בַּיִת הַבַּעַל (vss.19,27)

The list is surely to be understood as indicating a comprehensive destruction of the Baal cult in the North. It has been suggested that the בַּיִת הַבַּעַל is probably the house reportedly built by Ahab (cf. I Kings 16:32).⁴³ If so its destruction symbolizes a dramatic cultic reversal for the North. This reversal results in what is portrayed as a new cultic era for the North.

When compared with the Ahab era, the relationship that is created between Jehu and Elisha represents a contrast

with that between Elijah and Ahab.⁴⁴ This is captured in depicting Elisha as the one who instigates Jehu's rise to power. That this event is made to reflect the predictions of Elijah and Elisha (cf. 9:25-26; 10:17), places a stamp of divine and prophetic approval on Jehu's removal of Ahab's dynasty and the cult of Baal. But given the prophetic status of Elijah and Elisha,⁴⁵ their close association with Jehu's reformation constitutes an affirmation of the cultic outcome of this reformation.

The role of Jehonadab in the story of ch.10 is probably intended to add an element of legitimacy to the Jehu reform also. His full name יהונדב בן-נְבִי-יְהוָה identifies him as the character referred to in Jer.35.⁴⁶ He represents a strict form of Yahwism and probably functions as an indicator of the high level of the Jehu reform.⁴⁷ The work of Jehu is therefore linked to a strand of ancient Yahwism adding a very significant measure of legitimacy to this work.

The general picture given of the Jehu reform presents it as an event that went a long way to rectify the illegitimacy of the northern cult. But the comments in vss.29 and 31 suggest that it did not go far enough. In spite of this criticism the Jehu reform when compared with the work of all the other kings of the North represents by far the nearest this nation came to a return to full cultic legitimacy. The removal of the worship of Baal stands as a firm credit to the North. But the continued function of the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel reduces considerably the chances of the northern cult being a fully legitimate cult. Jehu's reform is presented as a very positive cultic move, but the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult as vss.29 and 31 testify, is Jerusalem with

Yahweh's temple and Ark.

(b) II Kings 21:1-18

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

There can be no dispute about Manasseh's membership of what is in Samuel-Kings Israel's only legitimate dynasty, that of David. There is however no reference to this membership as is the case with Hezekiah and Josiah. Instead David, and Hezekiah along with Ahab appear in the material as those with whom Manasseh's cultic activity is contrasted and compared (cf. vss. 3, 7). Indeed Manasseh seems to represent a model of kingship that is the opposite of that represented by David, Hezekiah and Josiah. This raises the question of how far Manasseh is to be treated as a 'true' representative of the Davidic dynasty.⁴⁸

The comparison with Ahab may carry not only cultic implications but probably dynastic ones as well. Manasseh is thus closely linked to a dynasty that is presented as being totally corrupt.⁴⁹ The link is of course made through the theme of support for the Canaanite religion (vs. 3), but it also declares Manasseh's affinity with a rejected dynasty. This point is taken yet further by mentioning his reversal of the work of Hezekiah. Vs. 3 therefore places Manasseh in the context of Hezekiah a model representative of the Davidic dynasty,⁵⁰ and Ahab the 'second Jeroboam'.⁵¹ It seems as if Manasseh emerges as another Ahab in spite of his Davidic ancestry.

Vs. 7 seems to suggest that Manasseh violated a cultic practice that was adhered to by David and Solomon. He

is therefore depicted as the direct opposite of David. Once more there is the link between David and the Jerusalem temple as in II Sam.7.⁵² But it is possible that the link as it appears in vs.7 introduces an element of negation about Manasseh's dynastic pedigree. Although the verse touches primarily on the king's attitude to the temple, the introduction of David into the material may also be an attempt to highlight the great gulf that exists between David and the one reputed to be the worst representative of his dynasty.

Manasseh is therefore undoubtedly to be viewed as a 'bad' model of the Davidic dynasty. This is demonstrated by the relationship that is created between him and the exile (vss.10ff).⁵³ Judah's greatest catastrophe can be interpreted as the direct result of the actions of a member of the Davidic dynasty (cf. also 23:26-27). It is through Manasseh that the dynasty becomes inextricably bound up with the nation's greatest disaster. It seems as if the Manasseh material attempts to wrestle with the question of how much blame for the exile should be placed upon the shoulders of the Davidic dynasty. Could it be that we have here as the reference to Hezekiah and David may suggest, a move to reconcile the belief in the dynasty's special relationship with Yahweh, with the non-Yahwistic trends of several of its kings as represented by Manasseh? The Manasseh material addresses directly the negative aspects of the Davidic dynasty. A cause-effect relationship is developed between the disaster of exile and what can be termed the non-Davidic trends of the Davidic dynasty.

There is a sense in which Manasseh bears some close

affinity to one significant member of the Davidic dynasty, Solomon. Of the four Davidic kings, Solomon, Manasseh, Hezekiah and Josiah, the last two seem to represent a counterbalance to the first two. It would seem that Manasseh like Solomon represents a disruptive element in the Davidic dynasty. Manasseh is accused of causing the exile, whereas Solomon is accused of bringing about the division of the Davidic kingdom (cf. II Kings 21:10ff; 23:26-27). The theme of dynastic legitimacy is therefore balanced with a realistic assessment of the role of the Davidic kings in shaping the future of the southern kingdom.

Given all that we have said above, it would seem that the Manasseh material represents one of the most dramatic assessments of the Davidic dynasty. It seems to raise some serious questions about the tradition that the dynasty was established by Yahweh 𐤎𐤊𐤍𐤏-𐤕𐤕 (cf. II Sam. 7:13). Although the story of the restoration of Jehoiachin (II Kings 25:27-30) may suggest that the special relationship between Yahweh and the Davidic dynasty continues to exist after the exile,⁵⁴ yet this must be understood within the context of a Davidic king's (Manasseh's) responsibility for the crisis. The survival of the relationship is therefore achieved in spite of Manasseh.

If as Mayes claims there is in the books of Kings, an emphasis on Yahweh's judgement on Jerusalem and Judah because of the sins of Manasseh rather than on judgement on the Davidic dynasty,⁵⁵ then the legitimate status of the dynasty remains intact in spite of Manasseh. He becomes relegated to being little more than an aberration from the Davidic model as represented by Hezekiah and Josiah. The material that attempts to recount the events of his reign

draws together the apparent contradictions that are reflected in the apostasy of some members of the Davidic dynasty, as well as in the destruction of Jerusalem. In this way the weakness of the dynasty is taken seriously. It is not glossed over but is treated as one of the harsh experiences of the nation's history. The dynasty may be elected and constitutes the only legitimate dynasty in Israel, but it still reflects all the contradictions which according to the narrator, were ultimately responsible for the catastrophe that resulted in the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

As in the material about the other southern kings, this theme is presented in terms of the role and status of the temple containing the Ark.⁵⁶ Vss. 4, 5 and 7 report on the status of the temple during the Manasseh era. The first two verses report the building of altars in the temple. Vs. 4 is thought to be a post-exilic addition to the Manasseh material.⁵⁷ Along with vs. 7, it seems to equate the election of Jerusalem with that of the temple.⁵⁸ The verse (vs. 4), cites what is clearly to be understood as an affirmation of the special relationship between Yahweh and the temple of Jerusalem :

וּבְנָה מִזְבֵּחַת בְּבֵית יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר אָמַר
יְהוָה בִּירֹדְשָׁלַם אֲשִׁים אֶת-שָׁמִי

The significance of בְּבֵית יְהוָה in this verse seems to be captured in the comment that :

The reference is to the building of the temple as a place where the name of Yahweh could be invoked and his presence thus, according to ancient Semitic ideas realized.

59

This must surely be part of the presupposition behind the strong criticism of Manasseh's policy towards the temple.

But the description of Manasseh's relationship to the temple in terms of *יִבְנֶה מִזְבֵּחַת בְּבֵית יְהוָה* draws attention to what is clearly to be understood as a rival cultic symbol to both temple and Ark. The *מִזְבֵּחַת* of Manasseh not only represent a religion opposed to Yahwism, but also seem to be depicted as being in direct conflict with the *אֱלֹהֵי יְהוָה*. The altars of Manasseh unlike the Ark and the temple cannot be called by Yahweh's name since they represent another god.

Vs.5 seems to be an elaboration on the type of altars built by Manasseh. Indeed it has been suggested that this verse is modelled upon vs.4a.⁶⁰ The altars are identified as those dedicated to *כָּל-עֲבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם* and so are symbols of a religion that is in opposition to Yahwism. The reference to the *שְׁמֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם* has evoked much discussion among scholars.⁶¹ Some commentators have taken it as a firm indication of the presence of a post-exilic editorial hand.⁶² But as McKay has pointed out, our lack of details about the pre-exilic temple must lead to the possibility that there were two courts in the temple in this period as well.⁶³ The absence of any other direct reference to them does not in any way rule out the possibility of their existence.⁶⁴ It seems however that the real concern of the narrator is what can be termed the contamination of the temple by the altars of

כָּל-צָבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם . They introduce an element of cultic illegitimacy into the temple of Yahweh.

The same can be said of the actions ascribed to Manasseh in vs.7. This verse has been closely linked to vs.4, the latter being treated as a duplicate of the former.⁶⁵ The verse brings together the 'incompatible' cultic objects of הַאֲשֵׁרָה and בֵּית-יְהוָה . Manasseh is the only king apart from Ahab who is accused of making an Asherah (cf.vs.3; I Kings 16:33).⁶⁶ Its presence in the temple must be treated as a direct affront to the Ark, and yet another cultic act of Manasseh that contaminates the temple. Vs.7b seems to reflect the conviction that it is Yahweh's name rather than Yahweh himself that dwells in the temple.⁶⁷ In spite of the fact that this distinction may be at work in this verse, the temple still emerges as the important symbol that reflects Yahweh's power and presence.

The full description of the cultic object of vs.7 as פֶּסֶל הַאֲשֵׁרָה touches not only on the problems relating to the Asherah symbol, but also on those relating to פֶּסֶל . This word which is often rendered 'graven image'⁶⁸ seems to point to a direct violation of the prohibition against פֶּסֶל in Ex.20:4.⁶⁹ It has been pointed out that the term פֶּסֶל

הַאֲשֵׁרָה as used here in the Manasseh material, is unique in the Old Testament.⁷⁰ Scharbert has argued that this term refers not to a Canaanite deity but to the Assyrian goddess Ishtar.⁷¹ It seems however that the true significance of the term probably has to do with the presence of this alien cultic symbol in the place that represents the very centre of the legitimate Yahweh cult. It points to a symbol that is to

be taken as representing another god, standing alongside the Ark and within the temple, both of which represent Israel's only God, Yahweh.

But the strongest affirmation of the temple in the Manasseh material is surely to be found in vs.7b :

בְּבֵית הַזֶּה וּבִירֻשָׁלַם אֲשֶׁר בְּחֶרְתִּי מִלֵּל
שְׁכֵנִי שָׁרָאֵל אֲשֶׁם אֶת-שְׁמִי לְעוֹלָם

72

The peculiar cultic status projected onto the temple is attributed to a promise of Yahweh. Tension is set up between this promise and the creation of the *בֵּית הַמִּלֵּךְ* which is to be understood as a direct violation of the command expressed in vs.7b. The king's actions are interpreted as an insult to Yahweh himself.

It seems however that just as the Davidic dynasty is affirmed as Israel's legitimate dynasty in spite of Manasseh, so the temple still stands as a symbol of Israel's legitimate cult in spite of its contamination by Manasseh. Its destruction which is implied in the destruction of the city (cf. vss. 12ff), is simply another consequence of the sins of Manasseh. The reform of Josiah with its corrective relationship to the work of Manasseh seems however to reinstate the temple to its former glory.⁷³ Even if this glory was lost during the Manasseh era, there is no hint in the Manasseh material that it is other than the symbol of Yahweh's power and presence among his people. As the 'homily' of vs.8 seems to suggest, this presence was not only an 'abiding' presence, but its power somewhat in contrast to historical reality, could ensure that the people were never taken from the land.⁷⁴ The temple therefore becomes a guarantee of salvation.⁷⁵

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

The South is still maintained as the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult in the Manasseh material, but great attention is paid to the number of illegitimate elements introduced into the Jerusalem cult by this king. This action constitutes a direct contrast to the actions of Hezekiah and Josiah.⁷⁶ Whereas the reform of these two kings affirms the legitimate status of the southern cult, especially the cult of Jerusalem, the 'anti-reform' of Manasseh can be understood as constituting a threat to its legitimacy. The state of the cult during the Manasseh era is depicted as being the direct opposite of that during the eras of Hezekiah and Josiah. This relationship between the three reigns can be set out as follows :⁷⁷

<u>Hezekiah</u>	<u>Manasseh</u>	<u>Josiah</u>
The high places were removed (18:4)	The high places were rebuilt (21:3)	The high places were defiled, and broken down (23:8,13)
The pillars(of the Baal cult) were broken in pieces (vs.4)	Altars to Baal were erected in the temple (vs.3)	The vessels of Baal were brought from the temple and burnt (vs.4)
The Asherah was cut down (vs.4)	He made an Asherah and placed it in the temple (vss.3,7)	The Asherah (made by Manasseh and placed in the temple) was removed and destroyed (vs.6)
Nehushtan was destroyed (vs.4)		
	He worshipped all the hosts of heaven and served them (vs.3)	The priests who burned incense to the hosts of heaven were deposed; horses dedicated to the sun were removed; the chariots of the sun were destroyed (vss. 5,11)

HezekiahManassehJosiah

He placed altars for
the hosts of heaven
in the temple
(vs.5)

He burned his son as
an offering
(vs.6)

He practised sooth-
saying and augury and
dealt with mediums
and with wizards
(vs.6)

All the pagan altars in
the temple were des-
troyed
(vs.12)

Child sacrifice was
prohibited
(vs.10)

All mediums and wizards
were put away from the
land
(vs.24)

On the basis of the above outline, Manasseh's reign represents a downward plunge for the cult of the South.⁷⁸ It represents a revival of the pagan practices removed by Hezekiah and a direct contrast to the reform of Josiah.

The Manasseh era is first of all identified as a time of revival of the Canaanite cult. This is reflected in vs.3a which is normally attributed to the exilic editor.⁷⁹ The verse is thought to be closely related to II Kings 17:7-23,⁸⁰ as well as to 18:4,22.⁸¹ But vs.3a can also be treated as a culmination of the pro-Canaanite cultic practices of the kings and people of Judah. This is especially true of the relationship with the נִדְבָּ . The Manasseh era is the last time king and people are accused of flirtations with נִדְבָּ . But no less than seven kings are accused of either not removing the נִדְבָּ or supporting this cult, with the accusation being levelled directly against the people once.⁸² This seems to suggest a fairly strong support for this cult in the South, with the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah being the notable exceptions.

By contrasting Manasseh's rebuilding of the נִדְבָּ

with Hezekiah's removal of them Manasseh's reign is automatically labelled as one of cultic reversal. The theme of reversal is also to be found in a more direct form in vs.11. Here the cultic actions of the king including his support for the **הַמִּזְבֵּחַ** are compared to that of **הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲשֶׁר לְפָנָיו**. The king's actions are therefore a return to the pre-Israelite if not pre-Yahwistic state of the land. As in I Kings 21:26 it clearly functions as an indicator of the cultic depravity of the Manasseh era.⁸³

This depravity is further emphasized in vs.3b. The claim that altars were erected for Baal serves to highlight the strength of the Baal (Canaanite) cult under Manasseh. As in I Kings 16:32, the dedication of an altar to a deity other than Yahweh is again to be interpreted as a direct rejection of Yahwism, given the central role of the altar in the religions of the Ancient Near East.⁸⁴ The close identification of the altar with the deity it represents may allow vs.3b to be interpreted as an attempt to extend the domain of Baal at the expense of that of Yahweh. Baal can therefore be viewed as entering the exclusive domain of Yahweh, as Jerusalem as well as Judah are definitely to be understood.

Vs.3b tells of another threat to this exclusive Yahweh domain. The worship of **כָּל-צָבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם** constitutes another accusation of illegitimacy against the southern cult of the Manasseh era. The cult of **כָּל-צָבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם** has been closely identified with that of the queen of heaven, both being termed by McKay as 'part of the vulgar religion of the day'.⁸⁵ There has been some dispute about when exactly the cult entered Judah. Montgomery/Gehman claim that the cult 'came in with the Assyrian domination as part of the obligation

of subject states to the empire'.⁸⁶ There has been some scepticism about this position. McKay thinks that the cult could have been indigenous to Palestine.⁸⁷ One cannot rule out however the possibility of non-Israelite influence. The suggestion of Montgomery/Gehman is one that cannot be lightly dismissed.

It has been pointed out that reference to the type of astral worship that vs.3b refers to occurs only in texts of the eighth century and later.⁸⁸ It is uncertain however, how far its origin is to be restricted to this period. As a cult of astral deities, it most likely attributed divine status to the heavenly bodies.⁸⁹ Although the use of צָבָא instead of צָבָאֹת (הַשָּׁמַיִם) may be an attempt to maintain a distinction between the two terms, the latter being used of Yahweh,⁹⁰ it can surely be maintained that the term צָבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם also serves to highlight the great divide between the deity and Yahweh. The worship of כָּל-צָבָא הַשָּׁמַיִם is clearly an expression of allegiance to an illegitimate cult at the expense of Israel's only legitimate cult, that of Yahweh.

The child sacrifice of vs.6 is yet another element of cultic illegitimacy projected onto the cult of the south during the reign of Manasseh. This practice has been identified as a rite of the cult of the Venus star Melek.⁹¹ It was probably borrowed from the Canaanites and was only performed 'in especially critical situations'.⁹² The rite mentioned here in vs.6 is undoubtedly the same which Josiah is reported as prohibiting (23:10).⁹³ Again this type of relationship between the Manasseh and Josiah eras, emphasizes the extent to which the cult of the South was pushed into the realm of

illegitimacy during the reign of Manasseh.

The narrator of vs.6 uses the term **וְהִעֲבִיר אֶת-בְּנוֹ בָּאֵשׁ** to describe the rite of child sacrifice (cf.16:3; 23:10), which captures rather euphemistically, the horror of child immolation. If it indeed represented the incursion of a Canaanite cult into the domain of Yahwism as noted above, it should surely be understood not only as an abhorrent cultic practice, but also as one that is totally incompatible with the legitimate religion of Yahweh. To claim that it was practised during the reign of Manasseh, or as the text claims, Manasseh himself was guilty of the act of child sacrifice, is to credit the cult of Judah especially that of Jerusalem with a distasteful element of illegitimacy.

The accusation of vs.6b is also to be viewed in the same light. The phrase **וְעוֹגְלָן וְנִחֵשׁ וְעֲשָׂה אוֹב וְיִדְּעָנִים** identifies another cultic practice that is deemed contrary to Yahwism. The word **וְיִדְּעָנִים** has been interpreted as a practice of soothsaying 'by observation of the clouds'.⁹⁴ Some critics have also related it to an Arabian cultic practice.⁹⁵ But it has also been linked to the religion of the Philistines with Is.2:6.⁹⁶ The presence of **וְיִדְּעָנִים** within the cult of Judah is surely to be understood as indicating the degeneration of the cult.⁹⁷

The word **וְנִחֵשׁ** also supports the theme of the cult's degeneration. It is thought that the word is related to **נִחֵשׁ** (serpent) and so means 'to divine by snake charming'.⁹⁸ Gray however refutes the relationship with **וְנִחֵשׁ** claiming that **וְנִחֵשׁ** has defied satisfactory explanation.⁹⁹ Whatever explanation is accepted, the cultic practice referred to is surely to be understood as an alien cultic element introduced

into the cult of Yahweh. Its presence also testifies to the dramatic cultic drift away from legitimacy that the Manasseh era is made to represent.

This drift is also captured in the reference to

אֱלֹהִים . This reference is thought to recall the story of Saul's visit to the witch of Endor (I Sam.28:3ff).¹⁰⁰ Burney points out that אֱלֹהִים probably denotes first of all, the ghost itself. He however goes on to point out that the 'root-meaning' of אֱלֹהִים can only be 'remotely conjectured' and also that the distinction between אֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים is unknown.¹⁰¹

Gray is a lot more positive about the meaning of אֱלֹהִים . He claims that it means 'either those who profess to possess familiar spirits or the familiar spirits themselves'.¹⁰²

However the two words are interpreted, like all the other cultic practices attributed to Manasseh, they support the conviction that this king was responsible for allowing alien cultic elements to enter into an area that is the exclusive domain of Yahweh.

The legitimacy of the southern cult during Manasseh's reign is again touched on in vs.16a.¹⁰³ The verse seems to exaggerate this particular crime of Manasseh :

דָּם בְּנֵי שָׁפָה מְנֻשָּׁה תִּרְבֶּה מְאֹד עַד
אֲשֶׁר-מֵלֵא אֶת-יְרוּשָׁלַם כָּה לִפְנֵי

דָּם בְּנֵי is usually interpreted as either a reference to the child sacrifice mentioned in vs.6, or one to the king's persecution of the prophets.¹⁰⁴ Montgomery/Gehman suggest that there may be a 'true tradition here of the martyrdom of the faithful', and draws attention to the tradition that dates Isaiah's death during Manasseh's reign.¹⁰⁵ The fact that this accusation against Manasseh can be cited as one of the

reasons for the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of the South (cf. II Kings 24:4), testifies to the incompatibility of this action with the legitimate Yahweh cult.

Although vs. 16b has been treated as being 'superfluous' after vss. 11b and 15a,¹⁰⁶ it reinforces the presentation of the reign of Manasseh as one in which both he and the people sinned. Although Manasseh is accused of leading the people astray (cf. vs. 9), their responsibility is in no way ignored. Their involvement in the sin of Manasseh functions to stress the narrator's conviction about the totality of the cultic degeneration of the South under Manasseh.

In the light of all we have said above, the Manasseh era is presented as one in which the cult of the South, especially that of Jerusalem was far removed from the realm of cultic legitimacy. This illegitimacy is identified with the introduction of numerous foreign cults into Judah and Jerusalem. Manasseh stands as the one responsible for all this.

Vss. 10-15 which are normally attributed to the exile editor,¹⁰⁷ draw out the consequences of this cultic illegitimacy. These consequences are to be experienced, or we can say have been experienced by the entire nation. The transformation of the cult of Judah into a state of illegitimacy, leads to the most painful of all national experiences. Ark, temple and city are all engulfed by national disaster. As such, the move away from cultic legitimacy is at the same time a move away from salvation to total destruction. This was the painful lesson of the Manasseh era.

3. Five minor themes drawn from the comparison of the cultic actions which are credited to the two kings, and function to create them in representatives of the two contrasting models of kingship

(i) The consequences of the king's relationship to Ahab

Jehu is hostile towards the house of Ahab. This pleases Yahweh, and he allows Jehu's dynasty to survive for four generations (II Kings 10:30).

Manasseh adopts the policies of (the house of) Ahab, and this leads to the dethronement of the Davidic house (II Kings 21:3,10; cf.24:3-4).

The close link created between Jehu's hostility towards the house of Ahab and the survival of his own dynasty for four generations, equates the removal of the house of Ahab with allegiance to Yahweh. We can compare the link created between David's devout allegiance to Yahweh, and the promise that his dynasty will last forever as this is set out in II Sam.7.¹⁰⁸

Ahab functions in the Jehu story as a symbol of all that is totally antithetical to the legitimate Yahweh cult. Thus Jehu's 'doing right' is reflected above all else in the removal of the house of Ahab (10:30a). This 'doing right' leads to the survival of his dynasty, just as its absence from Ahab and his dynasty leads to their destruction.

The same argument holds true for the relationship created between the actions of Manasseh which are Ahab-like, and the removal of the dynasty to which he belongs. The consequences of Jehu's anti-Ahab policies present a sharp contrast to the consequences of Manasseh Ahab-like policies. The latter set in motion the same destructive forces which led to the destruction of Samaria (21:13). Jehu through his destruction of the house of Ahab, stands as one who sharpens the consequences of the seeds of destruction laid by Ahab. He therefore becomes part of the same process which Yahweh uses to correct the sins of Ahab.

Manasseh on the other hand, does not seek to correct these sins, but adopts them. He brings destruction to his dynasty, whereas Jehu enables his to survive for four generations.

If as Montgomery/Gehman claim the reference to the 'plummet of the house of Ahab' in 10:13 constitutes "a rendering into historical terms of the ominous phrase 'the line of confusion and the plummet of emptiness' (Is.34:11)," ¹⁰⁹ then it reflects the narrator's utter disgust with the reign of Manasseh. The relationship which is said to exist between Manasseh's policies and those of Ahab, is probably the narrator's way of insisting that the consequences of Manasseh's reign are totally justified, no matter how painful these may be. Not even the loss of the Davidic dynasty could be understood as too great a price for the sins of Manasseh.

In both the Manasseh and the Jehu material, the fate of the dynasty of the king is interpreted in terms of the king's acceptance or rejection of the policies of Ahab. Manasseh's acceptance of the cultic policies of Ahab brings an end, not only to the dynasty to which he belongs, but also an end to his kingdom. But it is Jehu's rejection of the policies of Ahab which leads to the survival of his dynasty. The contrasting fates of the dynasties of the two kings reflects the contrasting models of kingship they represent. Manasseh represents the model of disfavour, and Jehu, the model of favour.

(ii) The king's attitude (compassion) towards the innocent

Jehu avenges the innocent blood of Naboth (II Kings 9:26, 30-37).

Manasseh sheds innocent blood (II Kings 21:16).

The death of Joram at the hands of Jehu is interpreted, not as the removal of a rival, but as the avenging of the blood

of Naboth. If as we argued in ch.5, Yahweh is portrayed as the avenger of the blood of Ahab in I Kings 21:19-24,¹¹⁰ Jehu has a similar role thrust upon him in II Kings 9:26,30-37. The command of 9:25 makes a direct connection between the death of Joram (vs.24) and the murder of Naboth. Whitley finds some close parallels between the report of Joram's death and that of the death of Ahab in I Kings 22. This had led him to conclude that the story about Ahab's death is based on that about the death of Joram.¹¹¹

But this link between the two stories helps to strengthen the narrator's position that Joram is reaping the consequences of the sins of his father. Joram like his father is declared guilty, while Naboth whose rights were violated remains the innocent party. Jehu thus becomes one who stands in direct opposition to the acquisition of Naboth's vineyard by Ahab. His killing of Joram is therefore the avenging of the innocent blood of Naboth. Jehu emerges as the protector of the rights of the innocent victims of Ahab and Jezebel. The death of Jezebel at his command (vss.33ff) is an extension of this role.

The accusation that Manasseh shed innocent blood, places him in a category that is directly opposite to the one in which Jehu is placed. Whether the 'innocent' killed by Manasseh refers to 'child sacrifice to Attar the Venus-star,' or to the persecution of the prophets,¹¹² the accusation functions in the Manasseh material to strengthen the negative image into which he is cast. Although the 'total silence' about prophetic activity during the reign of Manasseh may indicate the suppression of prophecy,¹¹³ the stories about the death of prophets at the hands of Manasseh remain little more than popular tradition.¹¹⁴

There is therefore little more than the statement of vs.16a that can be used as a commentary on Manasseh's treatment of the innocent. His shedding of innocent blood can easily lead to a comparison of his actions with Ahab's and Jezebel's role in the death of Naboth. As 16a now stands, it should probably be interpreted to mean that the responsibility of the 'רָאָה אֶת is to be laid upon Manasseh rather than that he himself was involved in the killings. But the similarity between his actions and those of Ahab and Jezebel creates him like Ahab into a royal model of disfavour. As the one who avenges the crime of Ahab and Jezebel, Jehu becomes the very opposite of Ahab's protege Manasseh. Jehu therefore stands as the model of favour, while Manasseh is the model of disfavour, given their contrasting attitudes towards the innocent.

(iii) The king and the policies of Ahab

Jehu removes Ahab's
descendants and officials
and his influence from
Israel
(9:24ff; 10:1ff)

Manasseh imitates a cultic
act of Ahab
(21:3)

Jehu's removal of Joram, Jezebel and Ahab's seventy sons is probably to represent the removal of the cultic influence of this dynasty as well. The אֶת־יְהוֹרָם and the אֶת־יְזֵבֶל of Jezebel in 9:22 can surely be taken as representative of the general cultic picture that is painted of the Ahab era. Against the background of the words of Jehu in 9:22b, Joram's death along with that of his mother constitute a reversal for the cultic policies they represent. These policies are of course none other than those of Ahab.

But it is 10:11 that really tells of the comprehensive

nature of Jehu's move against the policies of Ahab. Here are listed all those who were crucial for the survival of the policies of Ahab. These are :

- (a) כָּל-הַנְּשָׂאִים לְבֵית-אֶחָז בְּיִזְרְעֵאל^(a)
- (b) כָּל-גְּדֻלָּיו¹¹⁵
- (c) מִדָּעִיר
- (d) כְּהֲנֵי

Each of these groups represents a specific area of the influence of Ahab. But whereas the influence of the first three can be treated as belonging to the more general areas of the king's life, the fourth relates specifically to his cultic policy. The removal of his priests can be interpreted as a decisive blow against the cultic policies of Ahab, given the crucial cultic role of priests in the Old Testament tradition.¹¹⁶ That Jehu is credited with their removal must surely be a very positive element of favour for him. His action in contrast to most of those attributed to Ahab, becomes the removal of an alien cultic influence and the strengthening of the Yahweh cult.

In contrast to the policies of Jehu, those of Manasseh are closely identified with those of Ahab. This holds true for at least his relationship with the Asherah symbol. His making of an Asherah is identified as the act that creates him into the model of kingship represented by Ahab. He therefore becomes a patron of the same cult to which Jehu is presented as being totally opposed. This is of course the Canaanite fertility cult in which Asherah often appears as the consort of El.¹¹⁷ Manasseh is thus portrayed as a model of disfavour by virtue of his making of an Asherah.

His allegiance unlike that of Jehu, is directed towards another god and consequently constitutes a direct threat to Yahwism.

The placing of the Asherah in the Jerusalem temple undoubtedly accentuates the threat created by Manasseh's close relationship with the Asherah. A policy of Ahab is therefore not only adopted by Manasseh, but imposed upon what for the narrator is clearly the exclusive domain of Yahweh i.e. the Jerusalem temple. This creates yet another contrast between Manasseh and Jehu. Whereas the former surrenders the cultic domain of Yahweh to an alien deity, Jehu as reformer removes the personnel and the cultic objects (cf. 10:11ff) from his kingdom, thus regaining some influence for Yahweh.

The regaining of some influence for Yahweh can also be thought of in terms of the regaining of an element of cultic legitimacy. This seems to summarize Jehu's cultic policy in spite of the exception noted in 10:29,31. This exception of course places him in the same category as Ahab and the other northern kings.¹¹⁸ But his reform measures must surely act as a counterbalance to this.¹¹⁹ If so, the king by virtue of the contrast between his cultic policies and those of Ahab clearly emerges on a very favourable note. Similarly, the link between the cultic policies of Manasseh and those of Ahab makes a significant contribution towards his creation into a royal model of disfavour. The relationship to the cultic policies of Ahab seems to function with opposite effect in the material relating to the two kings, creating them into contrasting models of kingship.

(iv) The King and the cultic objects dedicated to Baal

Jehu demolishes the pillar
and the house of Baal.
(10:26-27).

Manasseh erects altars
Baal (21:3).

Baal seems to function in the Samuel-Kings material as the quintessence of the total rejection of Yahweh. The one who is accused of showing allegiance to Baal is at the same time the one who rejected Yahweh. On the other hand, allegiance to Yahweh means nothing short of a total rejection of Baal. This conviction is ably expressed in the question posed by Elijah in I Kings 18:21:

How long will you go limping with
two different opinions? If the Lord
is God, follow him; but if Baal, then
follow him (RSV).

In this understanding of religious allegiance, there is no room for both Baal and Yahweh. But since Yahweh is Israel's God, then there can be no room for Baal.¹²⁰

This understanding of Israel's relationship to Yahweh and Baal is at work in the Jehu and Manasseh material. Jehu as the antagonist of Baal becomes a champion of Yahweh, while Manasseh as one who supports and patronizes the cult of Baal is accused of rejecting the way of Yahweh (cf. II Kings 21:2ff).

Jehu's antagonism towards Baal is articulated in terms of his destruction of two important things which played a crucial role in the Baal cult. There are the pillar and the house of Baal.¹²¹ The destruction of the patrons of Baal can also be placed alongside of these (cf. 10:21ff). But the significance of the destruction of the pillar of Baal and his house (temple) are undoubtedly linked to their function as representatives of both the presence and the power of Baal.¹²² Hence their destruction indicate the demise of Baal.

The narrator of II Kings 10 seems bent on emphasising the total destruction of the pillar and the house of Baal. Whereas in vs.26, we are told that the pillar was brought of the house of Baal and burnt, in vs.28 we are told that the pillar is demolished. Although there seems to be a measure of duplication in these verses,¹²³ it seems however that those responsible for their present content and relationship were going all out to emphasise the total destruction of what was an important cultic object in the Baal cult.¹²⁴

If the pillar was accepted as a legitimate cultic object of the religion of Israel as the discovery of an ancient Israelite sanctuary at Arad seems to suggest,¹²⁵ the narrator of II Kings 10: 26-27 is probably reflecting the position of those who saw it as a threat to the cult of Yahweh. He there finds support in Ex.23:24 and Deut.7:5,¹²⁶ and would be opposed to the tradition of Ex.24:4 which seems to lend some support to the function of the pillar as a cultic object within Israel.¹²⁷

The thrust of the narrative is that no cultic object belonging to the religion of another god should be tolerated in Israel, even if it is that part of Israel that has been led astray from the legitimate Yahweh cult.¹²⁸ Jehu is the one in the narrative who epitomizes this conviction. This is also reflected in the report of his destruction of the house of Baal,

The narrator is not content to simply tell of the destruction of the house of Baal, but goes beyond this to report the humiliating desecration of the building (vs.27b).¹²⁹ Baal is completely humiliated by Jehu and indeed Yahweh. Jehu's destruction of the house (temple)¹³⁰ of Baal stands in stark contrast to Manasseh's introduction of the religion of Baal into the temple of Yahweh.

The contrast is sharpened since the action of Jehu deprives Baal of a house just as that of Manasseh provides him with one.¹³¹ That Manasseh is reported to have built more than one altar for Baal may simply be the narrator's way of emphasizing the cultic depravity of Manasseh. On the other hand his construction of two cultic objects for Baal creates a direct contrast with Jehu's destruction of the two or three objects of Baal in 10:26-27. The emphasis that is obviously placed on each action through the mention of the numbers involved goes a very long way to sharpen the contrast between the two models of kingship which the kings are made to represent.

There can also be a contrast between the element of finality that is attached to the actions of the two kings. We are told that the house of Baal destroyed by Jehu was made

לְמַחְרָאוֹת צֶדֶד-הַיָּם.¹³² The word צֶדֶד-הַיָּם could of course be a reference to the writer's day as Montgomery/Gehman suggest.¹³³ But it can also be interpreted as a comment on the permanence of Jehu's action. It should be noted that the only reference to the worship of Baal after the Jehu reform occurs in the summary report of the sins of the North (cf. 17:16). This clearly lends support to our suggestion that there is an element of 'finality' at work in the term צֶדֶד-הַיָּם.

The element of 'finality' that is attached to Manasseh's use of cultic objects dedicated to Baal is to be found in the report of the destruction of Jerusalem (cf. 21:10ff). His construction of altars for Baal is therefore partly responsible for what is depicted as the inevitable consequences of his cultic actions. The reform of Josiah is

unable to avert this disaster. It would seem therefore that whereas the reform of Jehu leads to the total destruction of the temple of Baal, the apostasy of Manasseh is cited as one of the reasons for the catastrophic events that bring about the destruction of the temple of Yahweh (cf. 24:3-4). Jehu is thus the model of favour, in contrast to Manasseh whose building of altars for Baal clearly portrays him as a royal model of disfavour.

(vi) The king's relationship to the survival of the cult of Baal in his kingdom

Jehu wipes out Baal
from Israel
(10:28)

Manasseh patronizes the cult
of Baal and extends its influence
(2:3ff)

This verse from the Jehu material is usually treated as part of the Deuteronomic epilogue to Jehu's reign.¹³⁴ It seems to be a summary of the reports about Jehu's onslaught upon the cult of Baal. The verse seems to imply that the cult of Baal did not survive in the northern kingdom beyond the reign of Jehu. This of course raises a series of historical problems.¹³⁵ But if the claim of vs. 28 is seen as little more than a positive statement about Jehu then it becomes part of the attempt to create him into a royal model of favour.

But the verse can also be interpreted to mean that Baal as the strongest rival to Yahweh was completely depowered in Israel. The verse reads, **וַיִּשְׁמַד יְהוּא אֶת-הַבַּעַל**

מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל. The verb **שָׁמַד** can be interpreted to mean total destruction,¹³⁶ and probably is used to underline the fate of the Baal cult during Jehu's reign. The

totality of the destruction is probably also to be taken as an indication of the nation's return to Yahwism. Vss. 29 and 31 however claim that this return was far from complete. But Jehu's role in the process is for him an element of favour.

In contrast to Jehu who attempts to curb the influence of the cult of Baal in his kingdom, Manasseh is portrayed as a patron of this cult. This is achieved through the claim that he built altars of Baal as well as high places. We have already dealt with the part the building of the altars plays in his creation into a model of disfavour.¹³⁷ The accusation about his flirtations with 𐤁𐤏𐤍 also function to create him into a model of disfavour. The 𐤁𐤏𐤍 were one of the most important cultic sites of the Canaanite religion and were undoubtedly a place where the Canaanite god Baal was worshipped although Yahweh could also be worshipped on the same site.¹³⁸ But the ones that were built by Manasseh are clearly to be understood as reflecting an anti-Yahwistic trend. This trend is emphasized by presenting Manasseh's action as a complete reversal of that of Hezekiah.

This contrast between these two kings is also a contrast between their support for Canaanite religion and more specifically the cult of Baal. Manasseh therefore rekindles the cult that Hezekiah is credited with removing. The same can be said when his actions are compared with those of Jehu. Manasseh brings life to the Baal cult that was placed under severe restrictions during the Hezekiah era, while Jehu brings destruction to the same cult that is depicted as being at its strongest during the Ahab era. But at the same time the two kings through the type of relationship they are portrayed as creating with the Baal cult, are

brought into a particular relationship with the cult of Yahweh. Manasseh becomes one who works against the cult of Yahweh, and consequently a representative of the model of disfavour. Jehu, strengthens the Yahweh cult through his removal of the cult of Baal, and becomes to a large extent, a representative of the model of favour.

In this section of the chapter, we have attempted to demonstrate how Manasseh and Jehu, primarily through certain actions credited to them, are created into representatives of the two contrasting models of kingship. These actions credited to the kings can be related directly to at least two of our major themes, A and C. We will now set out these actions of the kings in the context of A and C. The accusations against the kings as set out under B in our previous section will be stated as well. This will enable us to maintain a wholistic presentation of the way in which the Manasseh and Jehu material contribute to the development of the two models of kingship.

Model of disfavour

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

The house of David is brought to an end because of the cultic policies of Manasseh (II Kings 21:10ff).

Model of favour

The house of Jehu will survive for four generations because of the good cultic policies of Jehu (II Kings 10:30).

First Theme

The consequences of the king's relationship to Ahab.

Manasseh adopts the policies of (the house of) Ahab, and this leads to the dethronement of the Davidic house (II Kings 21:3, 10; 24:3-4).

Jehu is hostile towards the house of Ahab. This pleases Yahweh, and he allows Jehu's dynasty to survive for four generations (II Kings 10:30).

Model of disfavourModel of favourB. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

Manasseh places an image of an Asherah and altars for the hosts of heaven in the Jerusalem temple (II Kings 21:4,7).

Jehu did not turn from the sins of Jeroboam. i.e., he permits at the bull shrines of Dan and Bethel (II Kings 10:28,31).

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Manasseh followed the practices of the nations Yahweh drove out before Israel (II Kings 21:2ff).

Jehu wipes out Baal worship from the North, i.e., he removes the non-Israelite cultic practices associated with the worship of Baal (II Kings 10:18ff).

Second Theme

The king's attitude (compassion) towards the innocent

Manasseh sheds innocent blood (II Kings 21:16).

Jehu avenges the innocent blood of Naboth (II Kings 9:26, 30-37).

Third Theme

The king and the policies of Ahab

Manasseh imitates the cultic policies of Ahab (II Kings 21:3).

Jehu removes Ahab's descendants and officials and his influence from Israel (II Kings 9:24ff; 10:1ff).

Fourth Theme

The king and cultic objects dedicated to Baal

Manasseh erects altars for Baal (II Kings 21:3).

Jehu demolishes the pillar and house of Baal (II Kings 10:26-27).

Fifth Theme

The king's relationship to the survival of the cult of Baal in his kingdom

Manasseh patronizes the cult of Baal and extends its influence (II Kings 21:3ff).

Jehu wipes out the cult of Baal (II Kings 10:28).

The above outline indicates how the concerns reflected in our three basic themes are juxtaposed to the five minor themes. Together they create the kings into representatives of the contrasting models of kingship. They function to demonstrate above all else, how the cultic status and consequently the future of the particular kingdom, is determined by the type of royal model its king represents. In other words, the combined themes cement the relationship between kingship and the experiences of the nation. It is to a brief discussion of this relationship that we now turn, to conclude this chapter.

4. Jehu and Manasseh: The possibility of hope, the inevitability of destruction

The kingship of Jehu and Manasseh seems to draw out the contrasting themes of flexibility and inevitability as these relate to Yahweh's relationship to Israel. When Yahweh's favourable relationship with Jehu (cf. II Kings 9:3ff, 10:30) is placed within the context of his (Yahweh's) total rejection of the northern kingdom, an element of flexibility is introduced into the Yahweh-northern kingdom relationship. The inevitability of destruction which was introduced in the Jeroboam material (I Kings 14:10ff) and is hinted at in the Jehu material (cf. II Kings 10:31-33), is now juxtaposed to the possibility of salvation.

This possibility is manifested in the Jehu reform. That Jehu is designated king by Yahweh's prophet which in the context of Samuel-Kings is equivalent to a designation by Yahweh, makes Yahweh the origin of the possibility of salvation for the North. The era of the Yahweh-designated Jehu thus becomes a hiatus in the history of a kingdom that was

launched on the road to destruction by its first king.

Jehu transforms the history of his nation into a mixture of good and bad, hope and disaster. But he is made to represent not only the goodness and the hope in contrast to all the other kings of the North, but also the bad and the disaster. For the explicit statement that he did not reverse the sin of Jeroboam (10:31) seems to suggest that his own cultic flexibility as well as the flexibility of Yahweh, was overcome by the inevitability of the destructive force of the sin of Jeroboam.

Just as the Jehu tradition creates a hiatus in the Yahweh-northern kingdom relationship, the Manasseh tradition seems to do the same for the Yahweh-southern kingdom relationship. The special saving relationship initiated with David and sustained to the Manasseh era undergoes radical readjustment. Yahweh becomes flexible even in his saving relationship with the elected Davidic dynasty. Judgement and destruction can be experienced by the dynasty and kingdom he has elected.

The Jehu and Manasseh material continues to wrestle with the sin-judgement, reform (good)-salvation relationship. The Jehu material can be seen to pose the question: why destruction in spite of reform, as the Manasseh material seems to provide the answer to the same question, as applied to the southern kingdom. The reform of Jehu could not neutralise the destructive power of the sin of Jeroboam no more than the destructive power generated by the sins of Manasseh could be neutralised by the work of all the reforming kings of Judah. This was the testimony of national experience. Sin sets the nation on a slide to inevitable destruction which cannot be

halted even through the flexibility of Yahweh and his reforming kings.

Jehu and Manasseh constitute an acid test of kingship. They seem to reflect a negative conclusive assessment of kingship, in spite of all the positive qualities the institution might have possessed. In spite of all the good qualities that Jehu possessed, and in spite of the special relationship existing between the Davidic dynasty and Yahweh, the kingship of both North and South paved the way to disaster (cf. II Kings 10: 31-33; 21:11-15). It is to this relationship between kingship and disaster as reflected in the kings we have discussed that we now turn.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. The 'oddity' of the two kings emerges in the context of our study so far, in which the model of disfavour is created around northern non-Davidic kings and the model of favour around southern Davidic kings. Jehu and Manasseh seem to present a variation to the pattern even if we accept Ahaz as a representative of the model of disfavour (II Kings 16). Jehu a northern king is credited with the destruction of the Baal cult that is very closely identified with the kings of the North, especially Ahab (II Kings 10:28; I Kings 16:32ff). Manasseh on the other hand, is accused of imitating the same Ahab, who is surely presented as one of the worse northern kings (II Kings 21:3).
2. cf. Fohrer, Introduction, p.234;
Van Seters, In Search of History, pp.305-306.
Eissfeldt, Introduction, p.292.
3. cf. Galling, K. 'Der Ehrenname Elisas und die Entrückung Elias' Zth K 53 (1956) 129-148.
4. Gray, I & II Kings, p.563.
5. cf. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p.69.
6. cf. Fohrer, Introduction, p.234.
7. cf. Dietrich, Prophezie und Geschichte, pp.28ff;
Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.114.
8. cf. above, pp. 188ff, 260ff.
9. Nelson cites 10:30-31 along with I Kings 6:11-13 and 11: 11-13 as the few places where the 'historian...had Yahweh speaking without any intermediary or any background.' But as we suggest there may be some theological reflection at work in this direct contact between Yahweh and King. Double Redaction, p.111.

10. cf. II Sam.2:1ff where the suggestion of direct contact between David and Yahweh is presented as divine approval of the king's intentions and consequently approval of the king.
cf. Hertzberg, I & II Samuel, p.248.
11. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.412.
12. For the importance of the rejection of Saul in relationship to the role of Yahweh in the election of David,
cf. above, pp. 34ff.
13. cf. Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judaeen History, pp.413ff.
14. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol. I, p. 26.
15. Most scholars however seem to accept the destruction of Ahab's house by Jehu as a historical fact.
cf. Pfeiffer, Introduction, p.157;
Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, pp.102ff;
Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judaeen History, pp.414f.
16. On the relationship between I Kings 21 and II Kings 9-10,
cf. Miller, VT 17 (1967) 307-324.
17. cf. Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judaeen History, p.414.
18. On the textual problems relating to 14:28,
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.616;
Ellis, '1-2 Kings', p.203;
A comparison can be drawn between the 'favourable' stamp imposed by Jonah upon Jeroboam II and that of Elisha upon Jehu.
19. This is undoubtedly a reflection of the prophecy-fulfilment structure of Kings. On this -
cf. von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, pp. 78ff.
20. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.562;
Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.114;
Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, p.34.
21. cf. BHS, also,
Gray, I & II Kings, p.562.
22. Many of these factors could have arisen from the close relationship that was probably created between the political and religious independence of the northern kingdom. It is also highly possible that some fairly strong religious practices existed in the North long before the emergence of the Ark-centered Jerusalem cult.
cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth, pp.74ff.

23. Given what we have said in n.52 above, Jehu's retention of Dan and Bethel might have been motivated by political reasons.
24. This is the only reference apart from I Kings 12:28 that describes Jeroboam's images as בְּזָמָן יִזְכָּר.
25. On this image motif, cf. above, pp. 109ff.
26. On this link,
cf. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p.72.
27. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, pp.563-564;
Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judaeen History, p.413.
But on the problems relating to the historical accuracy of the report about Syrian expansion,
cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.412.
28. cf. The reasons given for the exile of the North,
II Kings, 17:7ff.
29. On the nature of the cultic object,
cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.358;
Gray, I & II Kings, p.558, n.e and f. Joram's removal of the pillar of Baal introduces a measure of ambiguity to his image. He is an 'evil' king, like Jeroboam, but not like Ahab (9:2-3).
30. Ellis, '1-2 Kings', p.198.
31. cf. above, pp. 266ff.
32. But cf. the view of Strange that Jezebel was not the mother of Joram and the word 'mother' 9:22 should be taken in a nonliteral sense. Strange, J. 'Joram, King of Israel and Judah' VT 25 (1975) 191-201.
33. Gray, I & II Kings, p.547.
34. Gressmann, H. Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels (Göttingen, 1921), p.314.
35. Montgomery, Kings, p.402.
36. cf. Gressmann, Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung, p.311.
37. De Vries, Prophet against Prophet, p.91, n.61.
38. cf. above, pp. 285ff.
39. cf. Strange, VT 25 (1975) 191-201.
40. On this presentation cf. above, pp. 262ff.
41. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.409.

42. On the textual problems of this term,
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.557.
Montgomery, Kings, p.411.
43. cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, pp.101-102.
44. cf. above, pp. 271-275.
45. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.II, pp.
46. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.559.
47. On the nature of the Yahwism he is probably meant to represent, cf. IBD Vol.2, p.964;
Rowley, H.H. From Joseph to Joshua (London, 1950), pp.152ff.
48. cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.115 where he argues that in Kings a distinction is made between Manasseh and the Davidic dynasty.
49. cf. the discussion on Ahab, above, pp. 260ff.
50. cf. above, pp. 325ff.
51. cf. above, p. 256.
52. cf. the discussion on this link, above, pp. 141-144.
53. cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, pp.132ff.
54. On this,
cf. Ackroyd, P. Israel under Babylon and Persia,
(Oxford 1970) p.145.
55. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.115.
56. cf. above, pp.277ff where we argued that the temple 'assumes' the role of the Ark in the Solomonic and in most of the post-Solomonic material.
57. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.58;
Gray, I & II Kings, p.706;
Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.115.
58. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.67.
59. Gray, I & II Kings, p.706.
60. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.67.
61. cf. Burney, Kings, pp.353-354;
Gray, I & II Kings, p.706.
62. cf. Burney, Kings, pp.353-354;
Gray, I & II Kings, p.706.

63. McKay, Religion in Judah, p. 98 n.22.
64. cf. the suggestion of Gray that the temple referred to in vs.5 is to be understood as a court of the palace, p.706.
65. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.519.
66. On the cultic significance of Ahab's action, cf. above, pp. 266-269.
67. cf. Poulssen, N. König und Tempel, p.45.
68. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.707.
69. On Ex.20:4;
cf. Reid, W.I. 'Graven image', IDB Vol.2, p.471.
70. cf. McKay, Religion in Judah, p.22.
71. Scharbert, J. Die Propheten Israels um 600 v.chr .
(Cologne 1967) pp.12-13.
72. On the relationship between this verse and similar ones elsewhere in Kings,
cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.67.
73. cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, pp.162ff.
74. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.708.
75. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, pp.47ff.
76. cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, p.163.
77. cf. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, pp.31ff;
Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, p.163.
78. cf. McKay who speaks of the 'dark age' of Manasseh,
Religion in Judah, p.20.
79. cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.173 n.48;
Nelson, Double Redaction, p.65.
80. cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, pp.132ff.
81. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.67.
82. cf. I Kings, 14:23.
83. cf. above, pp.266ff for our discussion on the cult of the Ahab era.
84. cf. McKenzie, Dictionary of the Bible, p.23.
85. McKay, Religion in Judah, p.47.

86. Montgomery, Kings, p.520; also,
Gray, I & II Kings, p.648.
87. McKay, Religion in Judah, pp.20, 40ff.
88. cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, p.375.
89. cf. Anderson, B.W. 'Hosts of Heaven', IDB Vol.2,
pp.654-656.
90. cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, p.375.
91. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.707; also,
'Eissfeldt, 'Molk als Opferbegriff'
92. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p.175; but of the
view of Cazelles who claims that the cult
was borrowed from the Phoenicians rather
than from Mesopotamia 'Molok', cols.1343ff.
93. cf. McKay, Religion in Judah, p.21;
94. cf. McKay, Religion in Judah, p.118 n.115.
95. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.707.
96. *ibid.*
97. cf. Mendelsohn, I. 'Divination' IDB Vol.1 pp.856-858.
98. cf. McKay, Religion in Judah, p.111 n.115.
99. Gray, I & II Kings, p.649.
100. cf. Burney, Kings, p.354.
101. *ibid.*
cf. also, McKay, Religion in Judah, p.118 n.115.
102. Gray, I & II Kings, p.707.
103. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.66; for the relationship
of the verse to the rest of the Manasseh
material,
cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.114.
104. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.709.
105. Montgomery, Kings, p.521;
cf. also, Ellis, '1-2 Kings', p.207.
106. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.66.
107. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.67.
108. cf. above, p. 139-141.

109. Montgomery, Kings, pp.520-521.
110. See above, p. 264.
111. Whitley, VT 2 (1952) 137-152.
112. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.709.
113. *ibid.*
 cf. also, Montgomery, Kings, p.521.
114. cf. the tradition that the prophet Isaiah was killed
 by Manasseh,
 Montgomery, Kings, p.521.
115. On the textual problems relating to this word,
 cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.553;
 Burney, Kings, p.303.
116. cf. Abba, R. 'Priests and Levites' IDB pp.876-889.
117. cf. McKenzie, Dictionary, p.61.
118. cf. above, p. 345ff.
119. This is especially true if reform is understood as a
 regaining for Yahweh that which had been illegitimately
 given to another god. The northern kingdom was there-
 fore partly regained for Yahweh through the Jehu reform.
120. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I; pp.62ff.
121. Some scholars find a reference to three cultic objects in
 vss. 26-27. These are, the pillar, the altar and the
 Asherah.
 cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.558.
 Burney, Kings, p.306.
 Montgomery, Kings, p.411.
122. cf. Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, p.58;
 But also Ringgren who argues that the pillar was not
 necessarily related to divinity. Israelite Religion, p.25.
123. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.558, n.f
124. cf. the report of the house of Jeroboam, I Kings 14:10-11.
125. cf. Aharon, Y. and R. Amiran, 'Arad, a Biblical City in
 Southern Palestine' Arch 17 (1964) 43-53.

126. cf. Forher, History of Israelite Religion, p.58.
127. On this function, cf. Barrois, 'Pillar' IDB Vol. 3, pp. 815-817.
128. cf.. above, pp.68ff.
129. This is surely the most degrading use to which the sanctuary (temple) of Baal could be subjected. It seems to recall the threat of I Kings 9:37 which claims that the corpse of Jezebel, i.e., the corpse of the most ardent supporter of Baal, will become 'dung upon the face of the field' (RSV).
cf. Montgomery, Kings, pp.385, 407.
Richardson, H.N., 'Dung', IDB Vol. 3, p.874.
130. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.411.
131. This contrast still stands even if we adopt the position of Gray and render vs. 27a, 'They pull down the altar of Baal...'
I & II Kings, p.558.
132. On the peculiarity of this phrase,
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.562.
133. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.411.
134. cf. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p.72;
Gray, I & II Kings, p.562;
Montgomery, Kings, pp.412-414.
135. One such problem is how far Jehu's reform extended beyond the city of Samaria. As the text now stands, it is clearly not presented as being of the same extensive nature as that of Josiah. Given the fact that the reform may be functioning more at a theological than a historical level, many historical questions will be left unanswered.
136. cf. Brown, Driver, Briggs, Hebrew and English Lexicon, p.1029.
137. cf. above, p.379.
138. cf. Ringgren, Israelite Religion, pp.157-158.

CHAPTER 8

KINGSHIP AND DISASTER : THE RELATIONSHIP
BETWEEN THE TWO MODELS OF KINGSHIP AND THE
CONQUEST AND EXILE OF THE NORTH AND SOUTH

We begin this final chapter of our study by noting two important points about the models of kingship. The first is the close relationship that is created between the models of disfavour and disaster (judgement). Each of the kings that we have designated as representatives of the model of disfavour, is credited with a particular act that brings disaster. Thus we find :

- | | | |
|------------------------|---|--|
| (a) Jeroboam I | Creates the bull shrines of Dan and Bethel (I Kings 12:28; 14:9) | This causes the destruction of his shrine (13:1ff)

his dynasty (13:34; 14:10-11, 14)

and brings about the exile of the North (14:15-16; II Kings 17:21-23) |
| (b) Ahab (and Jezebel) | Kills Naboth in order to acquire his land (I Kings 21:1-16) | This causes (his) Ahab's death (21:19)

and the destruction of his dynasty (21:20-24) |
| (c) Ahaziah | Consults Baalzebub of Ekron instead of Yahweh about his recovery from his illness (II Kings 1:2) | He does not recover from his illness but dies (1:4ff) |
| (d) Manasseh | Reverses the reform of Hezekiah and introduces extensive non-Yahwistic elements into the Jerusalem cult (II Kings 21:3ff) | This brings about the destruction of Jerusalem (21:12-13; 24:3)

and the exile of king and people (21:14; 24:3ff) |

Surely what is at work in this material, is a wrestling with the

relationship between disaster and what is interpreted as infidelity to Yahweh. Undoubtedly the importance of the king's cultic role is heavily underlined, and so he is presented as the one who stands between disaster (judgement) and salvation.

This role of the king is also crucial to the second point we wish to note about the models of kingship. Just as the royal models of disfavour are closely linked to the bringing about of disaster and judgement, the models of favour are instruments of, and also experience Yahweh's salvation. Thus :

(a) David	Moves the Ark in grand procession to Jerusalem (II Sam.6:1-19)	Declares his election by Yahweh as king to replace Saul (6:20-22)
	Intends to build a house for the Ark (Yahweh) (7:2-3)	He is given a house (dynasty) which will last forever (7:11bff)
	Builds an altar upon the threshing floor of Araunah - an anticipation of the future temple (24:18ff)	The plague that was afflicting the land ends (24:25)
	Secures Solomon's succession to the throne (I Kings 1:32ff)	Ensures his dynasty continues after his death (2:46b)
(b) Hezekiah	Reforms the cult in Jerusalem (II Kings 18:4)	
	He displays great acts of piety (18:5; 19:1ff; 14ff 20:2-3)	Jerusalem is saved from destruction by the Assyrians (19:2P-37)
		Hezekiah is cured of his illness (20:4-11)
(c) Josiah	Sets about to repair the temple (22:3-7)	
	Displays an act of piety when he hears the words of the law book found in the temple (22:11)	

(c) Josiah, contd...

He consults Huldah
(Yahweh) about the
demands of the book
(22:13)

He is promised salvation
(22:18-20)

He attempts to reverse the
apostasy of Manasseh
(23:1ff) and the North
(23:15-20)

(d) Jehu

Exterminates the house
of Ahab and reforms the
cult of the North
(II Kings 9:14 - 10:29)

He is promised the throne
of Israel (the North) for
four generations (10:30)

All of the four kings above not only enjoy 'personal' acts of divine favour, but the cultic acts credited to them seem to suggest the extension of their status of favour to the wider nation.¹ As with the models of disfavour, the king's disposition is interpreted as being crucial for the present and future.

But it seems however that what can be termed a 'streak of disfavour' is also attached to these four kings.² Contained in this 'streak' is the sin-judgement (consequences) relationship that is at work in the model of disfavour. David becomes involved with Bathsheba and arranges the death of her husband (II Sam.11), the sword engulfs his own house as judgement upon his actions (12:10ff); Hezekiah shows his treasures and armoury to the envoys of the king of Babylon (II Kings 20:12-14), and as a consequence of this, Isaiah declares that the king's treasures and his sons will be taken to Babylon (20:16-19). In the Josiah material, the 'streak of disfavour' is the inability of his piety and reform to cancel out the consequences of the sins of Manasseh (23:26-27), whereas in the Jehu material it is the failure of this king to renounce the 'sins of Jeroboam' (10:31). This

failure on the part of these two kings can also be interpreted as the failure to avert the conquest and exile of their nation.

Indeed it seems as if the 'streak of disfavour' in the models of favour either anticipates or makes reference to the exile of North and South. David's flight from Jerusalem and its capture by a power hostile to the king, can function as an anticipation of the events recorded in II Kings 24 and 25.³ In both cases there is the 'dethronement' of the legitimate king by the hostile power, and the acquisition of his throne. We have already mentioned the reference to Babylon in the Hezekiah material, which as pointed out by Gray, may reflect a 'case of later retouching'.⁴ The link between an act of Hezekiah and the exile of Judah, even if a late addition to the material, clearly reflects the inevitability of the disaster of exile.⁵

This theme of 'the inevitability of exile' is also present in the Josiah and Jehu material. The Josiah reform especially when viewed in the light of 21:2-15 achieves only a 'temporary postponement',⁶ of the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile (cf. II Kings 17:19). The seeds of destruction planted during the Manasseh era came to fruition and bore the fruits of disaster. The death of Josiah as now reported, is probably also to be understood within this context. The report is not simply a 'conspiracy of silence',⁷ but places within the context of 'inevitability' the death of the king who was promised a peaceful death (22:18-20). The theme of disfavour seems to impinge upon the pious king Josiah.⁸ If indeed the report was added to the history by a second Deuteronomistic editor who set about to update the history

and address it to the new exilic situation,⁹ then the event of Josiah's death is probably meant to be interpreted in the context of the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile. His reform and his death become overshadowed by these two catastrophes.

The comment on Jehu's reign in II Kings 10:31 is probably to be understood in relationship to those statements that link the exile of the North to Jeroboam's establishment of the shrines of Dan and Bethel (cf. I Kings 14:15; II Kings 17:21-23). This 'streak of disfavour' in Jehu seems to indicate, not only a weakness on the part of the king, but also the powerful engulfing power of the sins of Jeroboam. To claim that Jehu did not turn from the sins of Jeroboam is therefore to insist on the inevitability of the consequences of these sins. Jehu's reform like that of Josiah is only a positive phase in the march to exile.

Given all that we have said so far, it would seem that the models of favour like the models of disfavour try to come to grips with the greatest problem experienced by the North and the South, the problem of exile. It is not at all surprising that the kings that appear in the material relating the exile of the North and that of the South, seem to represent the model of disfavour. It is in this material that the relationship between kingship and disaster as manifested in the loss of land and city, and exile, reaches its climax.

It is in this material that reports and comments upon the exile of the North and the South, that the final shaping of the models of kingship takes place. The material is easily identifiable. That relating to the exile of the

North occurs in I Kings 14:15-16 and II Kings 17:3-18, 20-41. The material relating to the exile of the South is more extensive, and occurs in II Kings 17:19; 21:10-15; 23:26-27 and 23:31-25:30.¹⁰ We shall now discuss this material in relationship to our three major themes of :

- A. Israel's legitimate dynasty:
- B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence, and
- C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult,

to discover how these themes are put to work in the working out of the relationship between kingship and disaster.

The Exile of the North (I Kings 14:15-16; II Kings 17:3-18, 20-41)

- A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Hoshea, the king of the North who experienced the final Assyrian onslaught against Samaria, is credited with a 'partial' element of favour. We are reminded that he did evil, but the narrator adds :

לֹא לָא קִמְלָהּ יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר הָיָה לְפָנָיו

This is indeed a 'mitigation of the regular Deuteronomistic criticism' as pointed out by Gray,¹¹ and some scholars treat this comment on Hoshea as reflecting the 'pre-Deuteronomistic' stage of the first edition of Kings.¹² But vs.4 seems to cancel out the favourable comment of vs.2. The intrigue (מִשְׁכָּל) of the king must surely count as an element of disfavour, even if it is presented as being directed against the king of Assyria. It is possible that we may have at work here, the idea that the king of Assyria is Yahweh's instrument of

judgement, and so any revolt against him is contrary to the designs of Yahweh.¹³ There is not only a contrast between vs.2b and vs.4, but Hoshea is now made directly responsible, or in the light of vss. 7-18, 20-23, partly responsible for the destruction of the northern kingdom. There is within vss.3-6 an expression of the close link between kingship and disaster as reflected in the exile.

Vss.3-6 can therefore be understood as being crucial for rounding off the royal model of disfavour, although these verses seem to be concerned primarily with the role of Hoshea in the Assyrian conquest of the North. The actions of the king and their immediate consequences are noted :

<u>Actions of king</u>	(a) He made overtures to So ¹⁴ king of Egypt which was interpreted as an act of treachery by the king of Assyria (vs.4a)
	(b) He refused to pay tribute to the king of Assyria (vs.4b)
<u>Consequences of the king's actions</u>	(a) The king of Assyria arrested (הִשְׁבִּי) Hoshea and placed him in prison (vs.4c) ¹⁵
	(b) The Assyrians invaded the land (vs.5a)
	(c) Samaria was besieged for three years (vs.5b) ¹⁶
	(d) Samaria is captured (vs.6a)
	(e) The people are taken into exile (vs.6b)

Most critics would assign vss.3-6 to the Deuteronomistic historian of the pre-exilic era.¹⁷ They seem to place the responsibility for the catastrophe that befell the North fairly and squarely on the shoulders of Hoshea. But the later commentary of vss.7ff expands this responsibility to include that of the people and most of all, that of Jeroboam I.¹⁸

If taken as a historical report of the conquest and

exile of the North, the reporting of the arrest of the king before the capture of the city does appear a bit odd. The solution offered by several scholars sees the arrest of Hoshea taking place on his attempt to meet the king of Assyria outside of the city, with a strong anti-Assyrian element in the city holding out against the Assyrians for three years.¹⁹ Whatever the true historical circumstances, Hoshea's revolt against the Assyrians (vs.4b) and his arrest function in the narrative as a part of the catalyst that led to the downfall of the North.

It seems therefore, that the report of the actions of Hoshea and the continuing strength of the people as seen in their resistance against the Assyrians for three years (vs.5b), may carry some implications for our understanding of kingship. That the city is able to survive for three years without a king seems to emphasize the complete demise of the institution of kingship. Thus coupled to the theme of the king's responsibility for the Assyrian conquest, is that of his dispensability. He not only instigates disaster, but is powerless to prevent it from engulfing his kingdom.

The fate meted out to Hoshea should probably be also understood as indicating his exile to Assyria. He would have surely been among what Ellis terms the 'cream of Israel's citizenry' and the 'influential class' that were deported by Assyria.²⁰ The institution of the northern monarchy came to a dismal end. The element of illegitimacy with which all of the kings of the North are stamped,²¹ is now interpreted in terms of inevitable destruction and exile.

But the role given to Hoshea as the one who is directly responsible for the downfall of the North, is to be

closely linked to that of Jeroboam I who is given the identical role. This role is set out in vss.21-23. Here the sin of the North is clearly the sin of Jeroboam, as pointed out by Nelson.²² Several suggestions have been made about the origin of vss. 21-23. These verses which Montgomery classify as a 'political exposition' declaring that the exile was a 'just theodicy',²³ are assigned by Gray to a Deuteronomistic compiler.²⁴ Nelson however argues that they are secondary to vss.7-20 and so should be dated later than the Deuteronomistic historian and exilic editor.²⁵

Nelson terms the one responsible for the insertion a 'supplementer' who added vss.21-23 'because he missed any mention of Jeroboam's sin'.²⁶ This seems to suggest that this 'supplementer' may be other than Deuteronomistic. But several scholars argue for the secondary nature of the pericope while still maintaining its Deuteronomic (Deuteronomistic) origin.²⁷ Dietrich, who treats it as a Deuteronomic reflection, assigns it to Dtr.P.²⁸ an idea that seems to find some support in Mayes.²⁹

The introduction of vss.21-23 into the material dealing with the fall of the northern kingdom serves to create a direct link between the sin of Jeroboam and the end of the northern kingdom. It is indeed a type of resumé as pointed out by Dietrich,³⁰ and outlines the history of the North. We may note the events that are to be understood as being important for the history of the North :

- (a) Yahweh tore Israel from the house of David (vs.21a)
- (b) They (the people) made Jeroboam king (vs.21a)
- (c) Jeroboam led the people away from Yahweh (vs.21b)

- (d) The people followed, and adhered to the sin of Jeroboam (vs.22)
- (e) (As a result),³¹ Yahweh banished Israel from his presence as he had warned by the prophets (vs.23a)
- (f) They remain in Assyria הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה (until this day)³² (vs.23b)

It may be of some significance that Jeroboam only enters the picture at (b). We may also note that the people rather than Yahweh are cited as being responsible for his kingship. However in the story of his rise to power, Yahweh (cf. I Kings 11:29ff) and the people (I Kings 12:20) are made responsible (cf. also I Kings 14:7-8a).³³

It would seem however that the narrator of vss.21-23 was more concerned with the traditions about Jeroboam's establishment of his national shrines and cult, than with the traditions about his rise to power. As such the role attributed to Yahweh in the story of Jeroboam's rise is completely ignored. His kingship which leads to the exile of the North is shaped and conditioned not by Yahweh, but by his own sin and that of the people.

Jeroboam is identified by the narrator of vss.21-23 as the one who is directly responsible for the exile of the North. Since almost all of the kings of the North are accused of walking in the sins of Jeroboam,³⁴ they become little more than an extension of Jeroboam. Their kingship like his, becomes a catalyst that leads to disaster. In the light of the claim made in (b) above, kingship in the North is one that is devoid of Yahweh's initiative and presence. Because of this it can also be declared devoid of legitimacy.³⁵

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

According to I Kings 14:9-16 and II Kings 17:21-23, the creation and adoration of the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel is the chief reason for the exile of the North. The illegitimacy of these cultic symbols becomes manifested in the consequences of their creation and adoration i.e. the conquest and exile of the North. The theme of destruction and disaster that is very closely linked to the bull symbols is thus maintained (cf. also, I Kings 15:27-30). These symbols it would seem possess a powerful destructive force that brings about the extinction of Jeroboam's house,³⁶ as well as the conquest and exile of the North.

The presence of the bull symbols can then be understood as the rejection of Yahweh (cf. I Kings 14:9).³⁷ At least this is the claim of 17:21b that emphatically states :

וַיִּדְא יִרְבָּעָם אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵאַחֲרֵי יְהוָה
וַיַּחֲטִיאוּם חֲטָאָה גְדוֹלָה.

The failure to follow Yahweh is thus identified as חֲטָאָה גְדוֹלָה

The conquest and exile of the North is therefore nothing short of Yahweh's judgement upon the presence and worship of the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel. כָּל-חֲטָאוֹת יִרְבָּעָם becomes synonymous with the agony and humiliation of exile.

Although we are told that Jeroboam seduced (וַיִּזְנוּ)³⁸ Israel from the way of Yahweh (17:21b), i.e. he led them to adopt his bull symbols, the people themselves are also accused of adopting several other cultic symbols. All of them are of course to be understood as illegitimate and alien to the legitimate Yahweh cult. In other words they represent the power and presence of a god (or gods) other than Yahweh.

The 'theological commentary'³⁹ of 17:7-23 lists a number of illegitimate cultic symbols that were used by the North.

Since we have already discussed vss.21-23, our main concern at this point is with vss.7-18,20. This material is treated by most scholars as exilic.⁴⁰ Cogan has however argued that it is a polemic from the Josianic era, justifying Josiah's occupation of the North.⁴¹ But as Mayes has pointed out, the bulk of the material seems to presuppose an exilic date.⁴² Indeed it sets out to tell why the North went into exile.⁴³ The reason given is the people's rejection of Yahweh as reflected in, among other things, their worship of pillars and Asherim (vs.10), false idols (vs.15) and as stated above, the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel (vs.16). All these stand not only as illegitimate cultic symbols, but also as rival symbols to the Ark and temple of Jerusalem.⁴⁴

Vs.10 seems to stress the extensive nature of the cultic illegitimacy of the North. It speaks of multiplication of עַל כָּל-גִּבְעָה גִבְעָה מַצֵּבֹת וְאֲשֵׁרִים. The term (cf. I Kings 12:23; also, Deut. 12:2,3; Jer.2:20; 3:6), suggests total submission to these alien cults. If indeed

מַצֵּבֹת וְאֲשֵׁרִים represents two deities, Baal and the mother goddess Asherah,⁴⁵ then these cultic symbols like the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel constitute illegitimate cultic symbols representing alien gods.⁴⁶ Although vs.10 may represent a stereotyped Deuteronomic cultic formula as pointed out by Hoffmann,⁴⁷ its presence in material dealing with the conquest and exile of the North serves to emphasize the link between disaster and the adoration of cultic objects that

cannot represent Yahweh's power and presence.

The link is probably also at work in the peculiar accusation in vs.15 that declares : **וַיֵּלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי הַהֶבֶל וַיִּהְיֶה לָהֶם** . This is the only place in Samuel-Kings where this phrase occurs, and has been treated as a borrowing from Jer.2:5.⁴⁸ The power of the phrase is contained in the word **הֶבֶל** . There are numerous suggestions on how the word should be rendered in this context. Montgomery translates the phrase, 'They went after vanity and became vain',⁴⁹ while Gray renders it 'They walked after inanity and became inane'.⁵⁰ The RSV on the other hand renders the phrase 'They went after false idols and became false'. The phrase seems to indicate a move into 'nothingness', and as Gray suggests the word contains a notion of 'delusion and unreality'.⁵¹

But **הֶבֶל** can also be used to identify a god other than Yahweh.⁵² The rendering of the term as 'idols' by the RSV seem to capture this understanding of the word. Here once more is the idea of a cultic object that is anathema to the legitimate Yahweh cult. Like the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel, these idols, or Israel's worship of these idols, usher in disaster. In the context of II Kings 17 this disaster is exile, which is probably hinted at in the 'nothingness' (**הֶבֶל**) that is experienced by the people.

It seems therefore that the creation and adoption of cultic symbols other than the Jerusalem Ark and temple, produced according to the narrator of 17:7ff the inevitable consequence of conquest and exile. The people as well as Jeroboam are made responsible for the creation of the symbols. King and people are therefore accused of adopting illegitimate cultic symbols that reflect their rejection of Ark and temple.

This rejection on the part of the people leads to their total rejection of Yahweh (vs.18). The theme that the absence of the legitimate symbol of Yahweh's power and presence leads to disaster, is present once more.⁵³

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

Within 17:7-18, 20-41, we are told about the state of the cult in the North before and after the exile. Vss.7-18,20-23 reflect on the state of the northern cult in the pre-exilic era, whereas the material in vss.24-41 purports to be an account of the state of the northern cult after the events of 721 B.C. The thrust of both sections is the conviction that the state of the cult in the North was one of illegitimacy before and after (during ?) the exile of the northern peoples. It is however the cultic status of the northern cult before the exile, that is projected as one of the chief reasons for the exile.

The material in 17:7ff is closely linked to the events described in vss.3-6. A strong relationship is created between Hoshea's revolt against the Assyrians that led to the fall of Samaria, and the sins of Israel. Vs.7 seems to function primarily to create a sharp contrast between the infidelity of king and people and the goodness and compassion of Yahweh. Thus the accusations :

וַיְהִי כִּי-חָטְאוּ בְנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם
וַיִּזְרְאוּ אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים

can be placed over against the reference to Yahweh's salvation of the people :

לַיהוָה אֱלֹהֵיהֶם הַמַּעֲלָה אֹתָם מִצָּרִים מִצָּרִים
מִתַּחַת יַד פֶּרַעַה מֶלֶךְ-מִצְרָיִם

The term **בְּנֵי-יִשְׂרָאֵל** can be interpreted as a reference to both North and South. Yahweh's salvation is therefore applied to the peoples of both nations. The commentary on the sins of the North is placed in what Gray has termed 'the context of the Heilsgeschichte of the deliverance from Egypt'.⁵⁴ Sin and salvation are thus juxtaposed, with the exile of the North being interpreted as the consequences of sin and the rejection of salvation.

The **אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים** mentioned by the narrator could be taken as a direct reference to the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel (vs.16), or could simply be a general reference to Israel's infidelity to Yahweh. The latter is probably the case given the identification of several of these gods worshipped by the peoples of the North. Along with the bull symbols of Dan and Bethel, vs.16 identifies Baal as one of the **אֱלֹהִים אֲחֵרִים** worshipped by the North. But the bulk of vss.8-15 can be understood as a reference to the practices of the Baal cult. This holds true for the **מִצֵּבוֹת וְאִשְׁרִים** and indeed the practices of the nations removed by Yahweh (vs.10).⁵⁵ The narrator ironically declares that the North suffered the same fate because of their adoption of the same practices.

Vs.17 lists other cultic practices that led to the conquest and exile of the North. These include child sacrifice, divination, and sorcery. The mention of child sacrifice is probably a repeat of the accusation of I Kings 16:34.⁵⁶ It however now becomes the sin of all the people as opposed to being that of one person as in I Kings 16:34.

It is possible that what we have at work in 17:17 may be an attempt to attribute every possible deviant cultic act to the peoples of the North. The exile is therefore not only explained, but also justified.⁵⁷ That the people are reported to have rejected the message of Yahweh sent by his prophets (cf. vss. 13-14), also functions as a part of this justification.

As mentioned earlier, the material in vss. 24-41 seems to claim that the illegitimate cultic status of the North persisted far beyond its existence as a nation. Cogan claims that the pericope is evidence for the Deuteronomistic interest in the exile of Israel (northern kingdom). He goes on to divide the material into two units, vss. 24-34a and 34b-40, 41.⁵⁸ Montgomery however further subdivides the material, to create four units, vss. 24-28, 29-34a, 34b-40, vs. 41.⁵⁹

Noth treats most of the first unit (vss. 25-28) as a local tradition from the shrine of Bethel that was incorporated into the Deuteronomic history by the 'Deuteronomistic historian'.⁶⁰ Nelson refutes this claim of Noth, and instead accepts the suggestion of Gray that the unit was written by a priest of the restored Bethel cult.⁶¹ It seems however that it is difficult to determine the origin of the unit, and indeed its importance seems to be related not to its origin, but to the statement it is making about the status of the cult in the North after the fall of samaria.

The unit draws a sharp contrast between the religion practised by the people brought into the land by the Assyrians

and the religion of the God of the land. Of course it is made fairly clear that אלהי יהוה is to be identified with Yahweh. A problem however enters with the report that it was a priest of Bethel who taught the newcomers the way of Yahweh. Given the status projected onto the priesthood of Bethel in the earlier material (cf. I Kings 12:28ff; 13:33), the report of vs.28 seems a bit odd. The cultic illegitimacy of Bethel (and the North) seems now to be based upon the cultic practices of the newcomers rather than upon the cult that was introduced during the life of the northern kingdom. Is it possible that the narrator of this unit regards the exile as an end to all the institutions of the North including even the illegitimate cultic practices which were presented as being fairly widespread? As such the exile begins a new era, although from a cultic perspective it is not a better era.⁶²

Vss.29-34a declare the futility of the work of the priest at Bethel. Nelson claims that these verses constitute an expansion upon vss.24-28 and are probably the work of someone other than the 'exilic editor'.⁶³ Gray attributes them to 'the priestly historian at Bethel', rather than to the 'Deuteronomistic redactor'.⁶⁴ Most scholars accept an exilic date for the unit,⁶⁵ while some have argued for its Deuteronomic origin.⁶⁶ As it now stands, it emphasizes the presence as well as the persistence of anti-Yahwistic cults. Vs.33 applies this specifically to the newcomers of the North, and so claims the continuation of illegitimate cultic practices there. If vs.32b is read in conjunction with vs.33, then it is undoubtedly being argued that the state of the

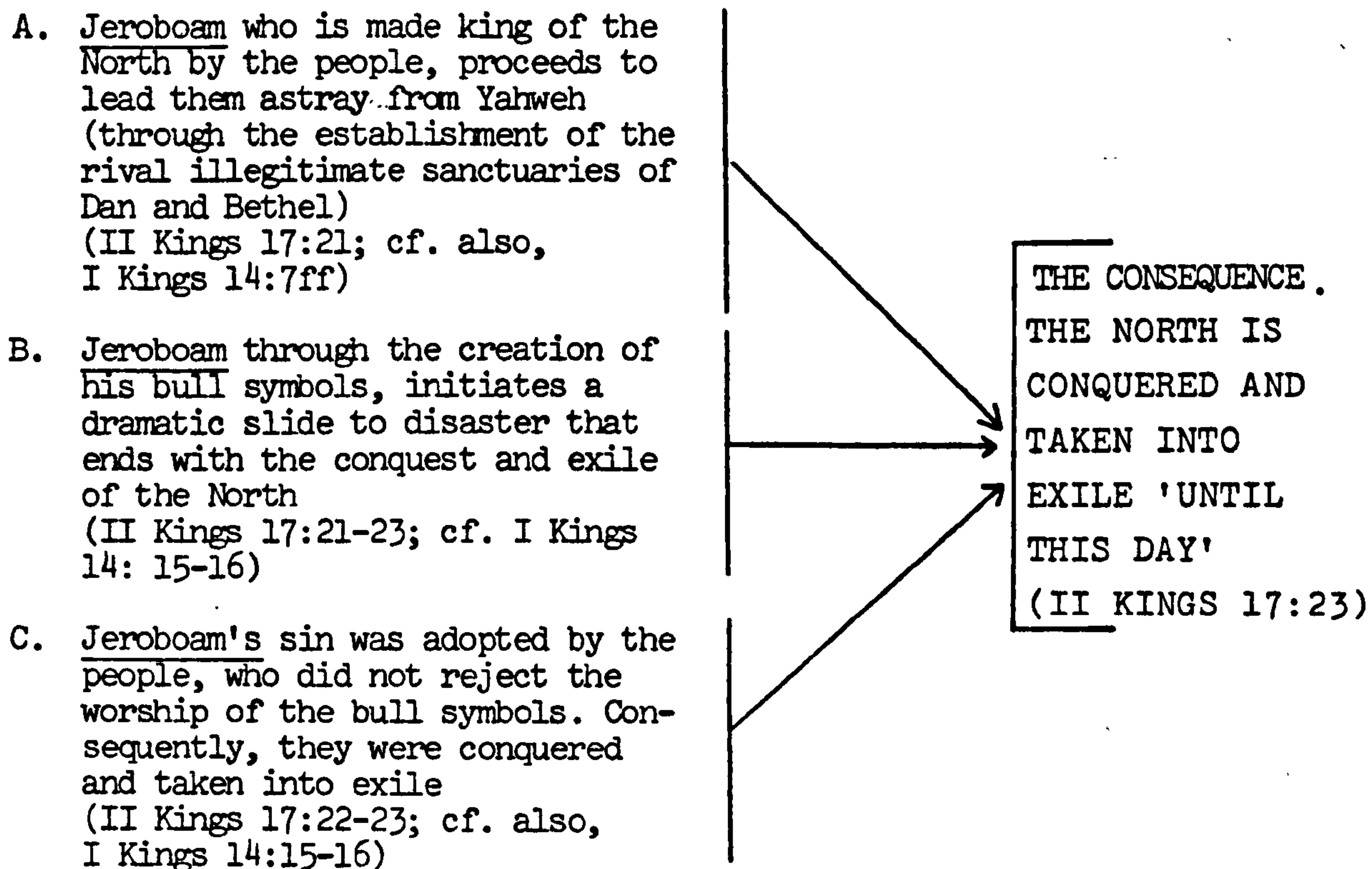
nation as described in I Kings 12:31; 13:33 persisted after the fall of Samaria and the exile of the people.⁶⁷

The same conviction is to be found in vss.34b-40.⁶⁸ This unit is thought to be exilic,⁶⁹ or even post-exilic.⁷⁰ Whatever its date its concern like the previous units is with the condition of the cult of the North during the exilic era. The new arrivals are again declared to be totally opposed to Yahwism. Vs.34b has been correctly cited as a denial of the claims of vs.33a.⁷¹ The author of the former insists that the North continued to be engulfed in illegitimate cultic practices. In the view of Cogan, he states that 'Even after punishment i.e. exile, Israel persisted in its former ways and sought no return'. The polemic of vss.34b-40 is therefore to be understood as indicating Israel's forfeiture of the 'rights to their former inheritance'.⁷² The anti-Yahwistic force that brought on the exile is therefore still operative.

In the light of all that we have said above, there was it would seem, a failure to transfer the North into a place with a legitimate Yahweh cult. Although vs.41 tries to temper the criticism of the previous units, it still maintains that the North was still far removed from the realm of cultic legitimacy.⁷³ If it is referring to the same group of people which according to vss.24-28 were instructed in the ways of Yahweh,⁷⁴ then their response to Yahweh is not unlike that of the previous residents of the North who did not respond to the words of the prophets (vss.13-14). If as suggested by Coggins, the designation יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ points to a date in the fourth century B.C.⁷⁵ then an element of 'comprehensive' illegitimacy is projected onto the North.

This element is seen to be present from its very inception (cf. I Kings 12:26ff).

At this stage we can safely claim that the problem of exile is addressed in all three of the themes discussed above. They identify a number of persons who are to be held responsible for the fall of Samaria and the exile of the people. These are Jeroboam and (probably indirectly) Hoshea, and the people. But all three of the themes touch on the role of Jeroboam in bringing about these disasters. There is therefore what we term a 'Jeroboam factor' that accounts for the end of the northern kingdom. This factor as it occurs in our three themes, and as it is related to the exile of the North can be presented in the following summary form :



The presentation of the history of the North is one that is dominated from start to finish by the 'sin of Jeroboam'. He

is indeed the Unheilsherrscher who brings disaster and destruction.⁷⁶ The history of the North becomes one in which the problems related to cultic legitimacy are constantly being explored. Indeed we can set out the history of the North under this theme in a similar pattern to the way it is set out in relationship to our three themes. This cultic pattern of the North is :

- | | |
|--|---|
| I. <u>The start of illegitimacy</u> | Jeroboam installs the bull symbols at Dan and Bethel, establishes a new priesthood, and changes the established date of a festival (I Kings 12:26ff) |
| II. <u>The persistence of illegitimacy</u> | <p>Almost all the kings of the North are reported to have walked in the 'sin of Jeroboam'.⁷⁷</p> <p>The people also walked in the 'sin of Jeroboam' (I Kings 14:15-16; II Kings 17:22)</p> |
| III. <u>Illegitimacy and disaster</u> | <p>The illegitimacy of the bull shrines at Dan and Bethel will cause :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) Their destruction and the end of their priesthood (I Kings 13:1-10) (b) The extinction of the house of Jeroboam (14:9-14; cf. also, 13:33-34) (c) The extinction of the house of Baasha (16:1-4) |
| IV. <u>Illegitimacy and exile</u> | <p>The illegitimacy of the bull shrines of Dan and Bethel brings about :</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> (a) The conquest and exile of the North (I Kings 14:15-1 II Kings 17:16, 21-23) <p>The people's involvement with non-Yahwistic cult also helps to bring about conquest and exile (II Kings 17:7ff)</p> |

V. The persistence of
illegitimacy beyond
conquest and exile

The people brought in by the Assyrians, worshipped other gods, like the people who went into exile
(17:24-41)

The cultic illegitimacy that stemmed from the establishment of Dan and Bethel, persists beyond the institution of kingship. But given the close relationship that is created between this phenomenon and kingship it seems as if it could indeed be an expression as well as a manifestation of kingship in the North. The institution as a physical entity comes to an end, but its fruits continue far into the future.

The Exile of the South (Judah) (II Kings 17:19-20; 21:10-15; 23:26-27; 23:31-25:30)

The necessity to relate the destruction of Jerusalem and the exile of the South to the theological convictions associated with David, Jerusalem and the South, must have surely been one of the most difficult problems facing those responsible for the final shaping of Samuel-Kings. Yet it was inescapable. In the context of the three convictions (Themes) that the Davidic dynasty was Israel's only legitimate dynasty (Theme A), the temple with the Ark was the only legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence (Theme B), and the South was the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult (Theme C), our task now is to discover how these three convictions/themes are made to relate to the crisis brought on by Babylonian conquest of Judah, and the exile of some of its population.

A. Israel's legitimate dynasty

Although an element of disfavour is projected onto several Davidic kings, the dynasty is still maintained as having a special relationship with Yahweh.⁷⁸ II Sam.7 can therefore be seen as setting the stage as well as providing the context for the Yahweh-Davidic dynasty relationship.⁷⁹ But the understanding of this special relationship was still able to wrestle with the contradictions of rejection and disaster, as the materials of the Succession story as well as those about the conquest and exile of the South indicate.

As in the presentation of the history of the North, a close relationship is created between disfavour, especially that manifested in cultic illegitimacy, and the disaster of conquest and exile. This relationship as it relates to the South, is reflected in II Kings 17:19-20. Here the end of the North becomes an anticipation of the end of the South. The element of disfavour is Judah's acceptance of the cultic practices initiated by the North. Exile therefore comes to the South, as to the North, as the direct consequence of the nation's indulgence in acts that were contrary to the commands of Yahweh. The Davidic kingship is however closely bound up with these deviant actions and their consequences.

The last three kings of the South, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah, constitute one of the strong links between the Davidic dynasty and the conquest and exile of the South. Jehoiachin's surrender to the Babylonians and his exile to Babylon seem also to be an embodiment of the sins and consequences of his father's sins. His surrender

can be interpreted as the projection of a negative element onto the Davidic dynasty. His exile, like that of the North one and a half centuries earlier, seems to function in the material as a foretaste of the final Babylonian onslaught that brings destruction and exile. But the fate of Jehoiachin and probably also that of Judah seems to be anticipated in 24:9. Here this king is listed among the southern kings who 'did evil', and compared with his father Jehoiakim who is also presented as an evil king (cf. 23:37). The 'evil' of Jehoiachin like the evil of his father is undoubtedly to be interpreted as one of the more immediate causes of the fall of Jerusalem.⁸⁰ Father and son seem to function in the narrative as the same sinful element with disastrous consequences.

The crediting of the kingship of Zedekiah to the king of Babylon (24:17) raises straight away questions about the nature of this kingship. That a Davidic king owes his elevation to kingship to Babylon rather than to Judah (Yahweh), functions as a type of evil omen for the Davidic kingship. This is however tempered by the fact that Zedekiah, in spite of his strong ties to Babylon is still of the Davidic dynasty.⁸¹ On the other hand these ties also seem to be closely identified with the judgement of Yahweh.⁸²

It is Zedekiah's disastrous rule that is identified as one of the crucial elements that brings the kingship of the South to an ignominious end. The report of his betrayal of the trust of the Babylonians is probably meant to indicate his weakness and insincerity. He plays a role not unlike that of Hoshea the last king of the North (cf. 17:1ff). Like Hoshea, he is the one who becomes directly responsible for the

final onslaught of a foreign power. But he brings disaster not only to the nation (25:1ff) but also to himself and his sons (vss.6-7). Indeed vs.7 strikes a dismal note for the Davidic kingship. The institution comes to an end, with its last ruling monarch deprived of his family, his sight, and his freedom.⁸³

For the narrator(s) of this final episode of Judah, the reason for this dismal end extended far beyond the weakness and insincerity of Zedekiah, or the power and might of Babylon. The reason, or at least the main reason is Manasseh. There are three passages that create a link between the 'sins' of Manasseh and the conquest of Judah by the Babylonians. These are II Kings 21:10-15; 23:26-27; 24:2-4. These passages can therefore accuse Manasseh of cancelling out all the benefits (salvation) that were procured through David's special relationship with Yahweh. Manasseh emerges as a negative force that wreaks havoc with the positive saving force that was initiated by David.

The acts of Manasseh which are identified as the chief cause of the end of Judah, and exile, stand in direct contrast to those of David that went to consolidate the kingdom of Israel. Destruction and consolidation are the two conflicting and opposing products of the Davidic dynasty. The relationship between the two as set out in the Manasseh and Davidic material are as follows :

David

David captures Jerusalem from its non-Israelite population and establishes it as his (Israel's) capital city (II Sam.5)

Manasseh

The Babylonian capture and destruction of Jerusalem is the direct result of the sins of Manasseh (II Kings 21:13; 23:27b)

David

David rescues the Ark from obscurity and places it in Jerusalem as a central cultic object, the only legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence
(II Sam.6)

David (and Israel) receives from Yahweh rest from enemies
(II Sam.7:1)

Manasseh

Manasseh makes a graven image and places it (alongside the Ark) in the house of Yahweh, where Yahweh had promised to David and Solomon that his name (ark ?) (84) will rest for ever
(II Kings 21:3,7)

He also made Judah to sin with idols
(vs.11)

Judah is conquered by her enemy Babylon, and is taken into exile because of the sins of Manasseh
(II Kings 21:14; 23:27; 24:2-4)

Manasseh like Jeroboam is accused of sowing the seeds that led to conquest and exile. His kingship like those of Jehioakim, Jehoiachin and Zedekiah represent the element of disfavour in the final phases of the Davidic dynasty. But these kings in a real sense are merely extensions of the evil era of Manasseh. They are manifestations of the contamination that Manasseh is accused of introducing to the cult of the South. Like him they are legitimate members of Israel's only legitimate dynasty, the Davidic dynasty. But this status is forfeited and they become, especially Manasseh, harbingers of destruction and exile.

B. The legitimate representation of Yahweh's power and presence

The destruction of the Jerusalem temple marks the end of a cultic era for Judah and indeed Israel.⁸⁵ The removal of the temple constitutes in the context of Samuel-Kings, the removal of the institution that indicated Yahweh's abiding presence with his people.⁸⁶ The narrator of II Kings 25 carefully notes the extent to which the temple

was rendered useless. This is conveyed partly through the report of the removal of important artefacts and utensils from the temple by the Babylonians (vss.13-17). The taking of these to Babylon like the burning of the temple (vs.9), represents a reversal for the important role and status given to this institution in Samuel-Kings.⁸⁷

The history of the temple is as turbulent as that of the nation. Its history moves along the following path:

From: (a) The birth of the idea of a temple with David (II Sam.7).

To: (b) The building of the temple and the placing of the Ark in it by Solomon (I Kings 6:1-8:11).

Through: (c) Its repair by Jehoash (Joash) (II Kings 12).

(d) Its desecration by Ahaz (II Kings 16).

(e) Its reform by Hezekiah (II Kings 18:14b; 19:22).

(f) Its desecration by Manasseh (II Kings 21:4ff).

(g) Its reform by Josiah (II Kings 23).

To: (h) Its destruction by the Babylonians (II Kings 25:9).

Nos. (a), (b), (c), (e) and (g) represent the high points of the traditions about the temple, just as (d), (f) and (h) represent its demise.

The destruction of the temple could also be interpreted as the destruction of the power which it symbolised. The power once manifested by the Ark which was probably still housed in the temple, did not withstand the power of the Babylonians. But the references to the destruction of temple and city in the earlier material, especially the Manasseh material, seem to interpret this event, not as an indication of the demise of Yahweh's power, but as an indication of his judgement (II Kings 21:12ff). The sins of king and people lead to disruption of the crucial link between Yahweh and the community as symbolised by Ark and temple.

Kingship and temple remain s interwoven from the beginning to the end of its existence.⁸⁸ The idea of its construction (II Sam.7) and its dedication (I Kings 7) which are surely to be understood as high points of the Davidic kingship, can however be contrasted with its destruction brought on by another Davidic king, Manasseh (II Kings 21:12ff). If a king is made responsible for the consolidation of Yahweh's power and presence among his people by the building of the temple to house the Ark, one is also responsible for the destruction of these important symbols. Kingship becomes the matrix within which the convictions about these symbols of Yahweh's power and presence are related to their destruction and the exile.

The narrator of II Kings 25:9 seems to report the destruction of the temple as a matter-of-fact way. It is is just another of the many buildings destroyed by the Babylonians. Absent is any traces of the agony which is reflected in the report of the same event in Ps.79. The psalmist is moved emotionally by the destruction of temple and city. It seems however that the narrator of II Kings 25 sees the event as one of the logical consequences of the nation's sins (cf.24:3-4). What for the writer of Ps.79 was undoubtedly an affront to the cultic significance of temple and Ark, is fitted into the sin-consequence approach of the narrator of II Kings 25. The sins of Manasseh and the people engulf city, and temple and land.

C. The place of the legitimate Yahweh cult

The death of the priests and temple personnel adds a peculiar dimension to the Babylonian onslaught. It engulfs those who were crucial for the link between Yahweh and his people. The link is now broken, severed as one of the consequences of sin. The people are cast into

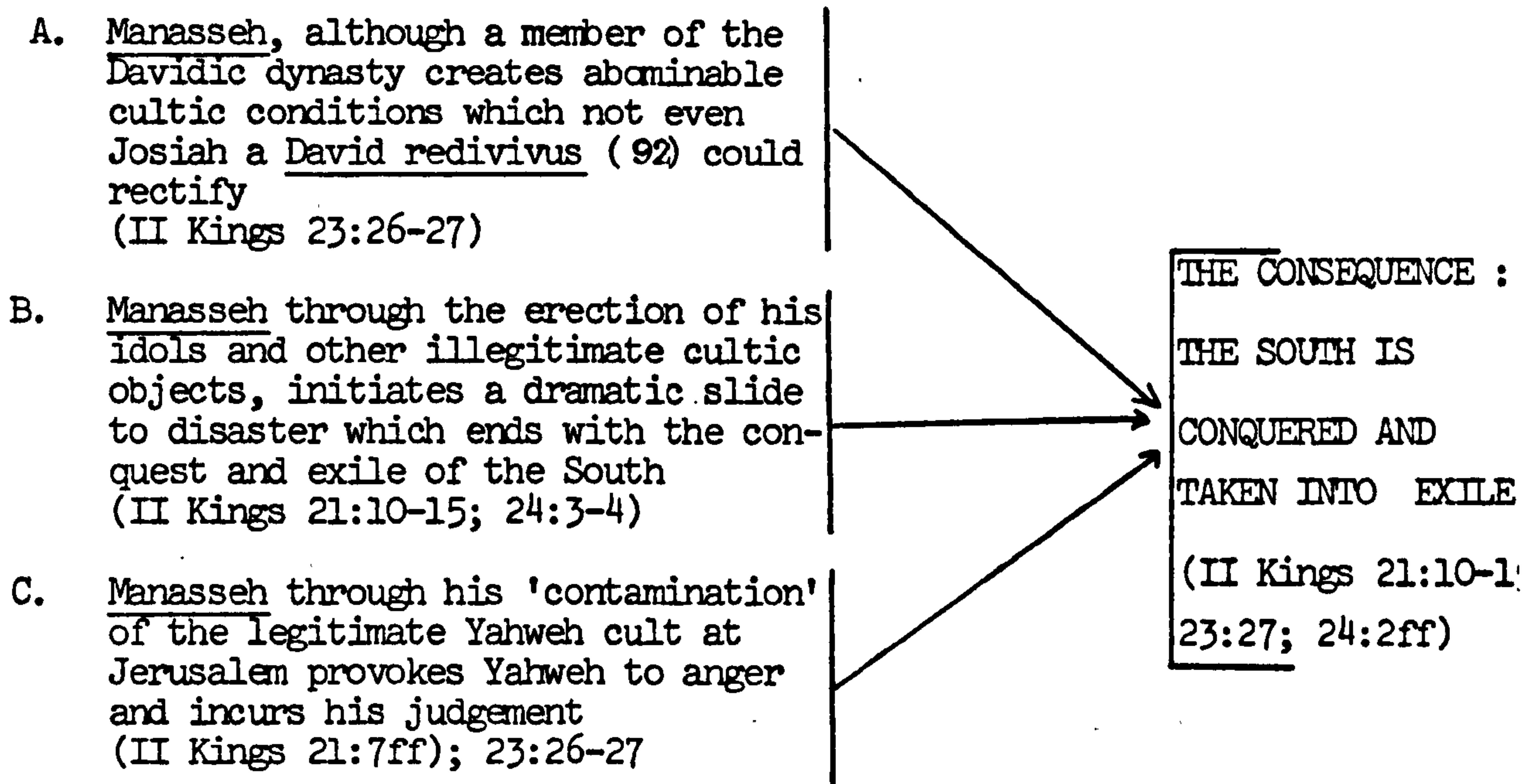
a void without king, temple and priests.⁸⁹ Without these elements the cult of the South was far from being legitimate. Their removal ushers in the end of the legitimate Yahweh cult of the South.

The removal of the population (or part of the population) of Jerusalem makes the same statement. This act can also be interpreted as the removal of the worshipping community of Jerusalem. In other words the supporters of Israel's only legitimate cult are not only deprived of their cult, but are banished to a land where it could hardly be reconstructed.⁹⁰

Priests, cultic personnel and people are all victims of the disaster brought on by the sins of Manasseh. His actions not only transform the cult of the South in his own day, but also bring the ultimate transformation : its destruction by the Babylonians. From being the place of the legitimate Yahweh cult, the South becomes the place that experiences Yahweh's judgement. The judgement comes because it would seem people and cult were pushed by Manasseh beyond the point of no return (cf. 21:10ff).

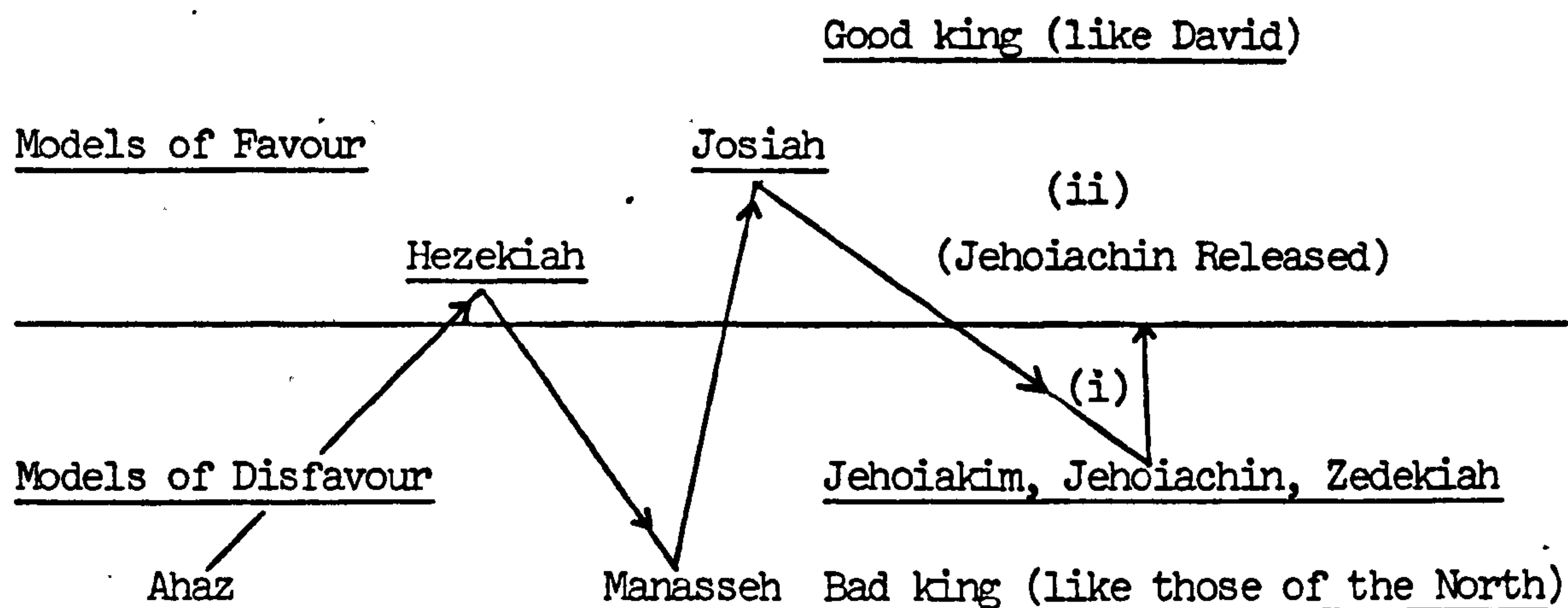
Given all that we have said above about the exile of the South, it seems as if the problem of the exile of the South surfaces in all three themes. As is the case with the material relating the fall and exile of the North, several persons (kings) are closely linked to the fall and exile of the South. Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, Zedekiah are all made responsible for the immediate conditions that resulted in the Babylonian conquest and exile of the South. But in the material of each of the themes, Manasseh stands out as the

Unheilsherrscher. There is clearly the presence of a 'Manasseh factor' similar to the 'Jeroboam factor' mentioned earlier.⁹¹ Again it can be presented in relationship to our three themes, and exile ;



Although Manasseh unlike Jeroboam is not presented as the creator of a new cult, his relationship to the one that existed is deemed to generate as much destructive power as Jeroboam's cultic activity. The Manasseh era becomes one in which the South is pronounced worthy of destruction and exile. It is also one that functions as an assessment of the institution of kingship especially as it relates to the South. Kingship is indeed plunged to the very depth in the Manasseh material. But at the same time this material is placed alongside that which reflects the more positive sides of kingship. Conquest and exile is a resounding blow against the institution, but this blow is cushioned first by the good kings and probably most of all by the release of Jehoiachin from prison in Babylon (25:27-30). This presentation of the

kingship of the South can be illustrated by the following diagram :



This is the pattern of kingship for the last years of the South. The release of Jehoiachin from prison seems to echo a positive note about kingship, hence his placement as a released prisoner of war in the area of favour. But it is to this event and its implications for the presentation of kingship that we shall now turn.

The implications of the report of the release of Jehoiachin for the models of kingship (II Kings 25:27-30)

Although this final section of Samuel-Kings reads like a simple historical report, it has long been recognized as reflecting a comment upon the future of Israel. Since for several commentators 25:21 is the end of the Deuteronomic history, vss. 22-26 and 27-30 are 'post redactional appendices' and are not the work of either the pre-exilic historian or the exilic editor'.⁹³ Noth however treats these verses as an integral part of the Deuteronomic history, and claims that

they were added by the 'Deuteronomistic historian' and 'drawn from his own knowledge'.⁹⁴ Noth's analysis is of course conditioned by his understanding of the development of the Deuteronomic history.⁹⁵ The addition of the pericope was obviously the work of someone in the exile although the exact identification of such a person in relationship to a Deuteronomic group is far from clear.

In the context of our study, the pericope can be treated as making a definite statement about kingship. The nature of this statement will depend to a very large extent on whether the pericope is understood to be making a negative or a positive statement about the future of Israel. Both positions find support among Old Testament scholars. For Noth, the message of vss. 27-30 is entirely negative. It simply reflects the authors 'scrupulous respect for historical fact', and holds out no hope for the future.⁹⁶

This opinion of Noth has been challenged by von Rad. He argues that a close relationship exists between the promise to David in II Sam. 7, and the report about the release of Jehoiachin. This event according to von Rad functions as fulfilment of the promise in II Sam. 7.⁹⁷ Indeed the pericope is an expression of hope for the continuation of the Davidic dynasty.⁹⁸ In a similar vein, Dietrich claims that the permanence of the dynasty is undoubtedly affirmed.⁹⁹ Other support for the positive nature of 25:27-30 is to be found in the work of Gray,¹⁰⁰ Brueggemann,¹⁰¹ and Zenger.¹⁰²

The interpretation of the release of Jehoiachin as messianic, as suggested by von Rad, has been correctly rejected by Wolff,¹⁰³ and Klein.¹⁰⁴ But as the latter

scholar points out, the 'unconditional character' of the promise of II Sam.7 in the final form of the Deuteronomic history may suggest the presence of some Davidic hope in 25:27-30.¹⁰⁵ It can hardly be denied that these verses leave open the possibility of hope. This hope is bound up with, it would seem, the last Davidic king.

Jehoiachin then holds together the two contrasting models of kingship that are present in Samuel-Kings. The accusation that he did evil, and was like his father Jehoiakim (II Kings 24:9) imposes upon him an element of disfavour that can link him to other representatives of the royal model of disfavour. His surrender to the king of Babylon (vs.13) makes him directly responsible for the fall of Jerusalem into Babylonian hands, whereas his exile (vs.15) creates him into a manifestation (or one of them) of Yahweh's wrath and judgement. Within 24:8-25:26, Jehoiachin reflects all that is repulsive about the kingship of the South and probably kingship in general.

But his release from prison seems to reintroduce the close relationship between the Davidic kingship and Yahweh that is reflected at several points in Samuel-Kings.¹⁰⁶ In the words of Ackroyd, 'Even after years of captivity, the Davidic king is a symbol of the enduring love and goodness of God'.¹⁰⁷ The institution of kingship becomes the channel through which Yahweh's salvation is reflected. Johoiachin's release is an indicator that this salvation is still operative even in the restrictions of exile.

Kingship therefore remains an institution riddled with contradictions. Its final state is one that is determined by a power that represents the judgement of Yahweh, but

at the same time it is also one that holds open the future.¹⁰⁸ Jehoiachin is therefore made to embody the future not only of kingship, but also that of the entire nation. He seems to represent a stage of kingship in which the promises of Yahweh encounter the disaster and distress of exile, especially as it relates to the Davidic king. The dramatic encounter becomes a change of status for Jehoiachin. The narrator of 25:27-30 notes the significant elements of this change of status :

- (a) The king is freed from prison during the very first year of Evil-merodach (vs.27)
- (b) Evil-merodach speaks kindly to king Jehoiachin (vs.28b)
- (c) He confers upon Jehoiachin a special status above the other captive kings (vs.28b)
- (d) Jehoiachin abandoned his prison garments (vs.29a).
- (e) He dines at the king's table (vs.29b)
- (f) He is given a regular allowance for the rest of his life (vs.30)

This course of events constitutes a quenching of some of the corrosive destructive power that was manifested in kingship, especially that of Manasseh. It reflects a model that is in a state of becoming, one that seems to be in a state of flux. In other words, kingship seems to be once more in a formative but somewhat uncertain stage. And herein lies its hope. The Davidic line was still available, to be moulded into the model of favour that once manifested itself in David.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. This is especially at work in the traditions about David where his status of favour extends beyond his own time. Thus kings and consequently the nation escape Yahweh's judgement 'for the sake of David' (cf. I Kings 15:3-5).
2. cf. our discussion of these four kings.
3. cf. above, p. 211.
4. Gray, I & II Kings, p.702.
5. cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.111;
Nelson, Double Redaction, p.88.
6. cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.111.
7. cf. Frost, S.B. 'The Death of Josiah : A Conspiracy of Silence' JBL 87 (1968) 369-382.
8. Bright claims that the death of Josiah which begins a chain of events that ends with the fall of Jerusalem constitutes along with the other events, a challenge to classical theology. If so, the death of the king will also be a readjustment to the royal model of favour by having a strong element of favour (Reform) and one that can be interpreted as an element of disfavour (sudden, untimely death) attached to the same king.
cf. Bright, J. A History of Israel, (London, 1972) 2nd. ed. p.311.
9. cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.111;
Nelson, Double Redaction, p.84.
10. The amount of material related to the exile of the South is of course far more extensive than that about the North primarily because the Deuteronomic history was produced in the South. The interest of those responsible for the creation of the history was obviously more taken up with the South than with the North. Most of the material of Samuel-Kings that addresses the problem of kingship, has therefore been 'tailored' to fit in with certain theological presuppositions that predominated in the South, especially those about the Davidic dynasty and the Jerusalem cult.
11. Gray, I & II Kings, p.641;
cf. also, Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.126;
Klein, R.W. Israel in Exile, Overtures to Biblical Theology, (Philadelphia, 1979), p.33.

12. cf. Weippert, H. 'Die deuteronomistischen' Beurteilungen der Könige von Israel und Juda und das Problem der Redaktion der Königsbücher' Bibl. 53 (1972) 301-329.
13. This idea is reflected in the book of Jeremiah.
cf. chs. 26ff.
cf. also, von Rad, Theology, Vol.II, p. 207
14. The exact identity of the Pharaoh with whom Hoshea made contacts is still debated in Old Testament scholarship. Several scholars maintain that the name 'So' denotes 'Sais' and probably refers to the Pharaoh Tefnakhte of Sais.
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.642, n.a;
Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judaeen History, pp.432-433;
Ellis, '1-2 Kings', p.205.
15. On the peculiarity of this word in its present context,
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.643;
Montgomery, Kings, p.466.
16. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, pp.643-644.
17. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, pp.61; 141, n.63.
18. This can probably be cited as one of the reasons for crediting vss.7ff to a different hand.
cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, pp.125f, but also,
Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, pp.127ff; 137ff.
19. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.640;
Montgomery, Kings, p.466;
Ellis, '1-2 Kings' p.204;
Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judaeen History, p.433.
20. Ellis, '1-2 Kings', p.204.
21. This 'element' is reflected in the text through the caption 'sin of Jeroboam'. Cross has correctly identified this as one of the dominant themes of Kings.
cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth, pp.274ff.
22. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.56.
23. Montgomery, Kings, p.470.
24. Gray, I & II Kings, p.650.
25. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.59.

26. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.61.
27. cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, p.128.
28. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, p.45.
29. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.114.
30. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, p.41.
31. The term וְכֵן הָיָה can undoubtedly be rendered 'And as a result of this', which is reflected to some extent in Montgomery's 'until (at last)....Kings, p.470; or Gray's 'So that finally'....I & II Kings, p.650.
32. On the interpretation of this phrase,
cf. Childs, B.S. 'A Study of the Formula 'Until this Day', JBL 82 (1963) 279-292.
33. cf. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, p.41.
34. A notable exception is the last king of the North, Hoshea. His role in bringing on the Assyrian onslaught probably functions in the narrative as an indication of his Jeroboam-like quality.
35. cf. the place given to Yahweh's initiative in leading David to kingship which is undoubtedly used to create a sphere of legitimacy around the kingship of David,
cf. above, pp.37ff.
36. cf. I Kings 15:27-30.
37. cf. our discussion on this point, pp.189ff.
38. Most commentators read וְכֵן הָיָה instead of וְכֵן הָיָה
cf. Burney, Kings, p.333;
Gray, I & II Kings, p.650;
Montgomery, Kings, p.470.
39. cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.125.
40. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.61;
Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.126.
41. Cogan, M. 'Israel in Exile - the view of the Josianic Historian' JBL 97 (1978) 40-44.
42. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.127; also,
Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, pp.132ff.
43. Klein, Israel in Exile, pp.33-34.
44. cf. above, pp. 64ff.
45. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.646.

46. All of these cultic objects were widely used in Canaanite religion and obviously represent a non-Yahwistic practice.
cf. Fohrer, Israelite Religion, pp.42ff.
Cross has however argued that the bull was also a very early cultic symbol in Israelite religion, cf. Canaanite Myth, pp.74ff.
47. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, p.131.
48. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.469.
49. *ibid.*
50. Gray, I & II Kings, p.645;
cf. also, Ellis, I-II Kings, p.204.
51. Gray, I & II Kings, p.647; cf. also, his article 'Vanity' IDB Vol.4, p.746.
52. cf. Montgomery, Kings, p.469;
Gray, I & II Kings, pp.647-648.
53. cf. above, pp. 125-129; 188ff.
54. Gray, I & II Kings, p.646.
55. cf. Fohrer, Israelite Religion, pp.42ff; 102ff;
Rendtorff, R. 'El, Ba'al und Jahwe', ZAW 78 (1976) 277-292;
Patai, R. 'The Goddess Ashera', JNES 24 (1965) 37-52.
56. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.648.
57. cf. Klein, Israel in Exile, pp.33-34.
58. Cogan, JBL 97 (1978), p.40.
59. Montgomery, Kings, pp.470-471;
cf. also, Nelson, Double Redaction, p.63.
60. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, pp.73,85;
cf. also, Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, p.135.
61. Nelson; Double Redaction, p.63;
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.605.
62. The comment of Cogan that 'the historiographic viewpoint' contained in vss.34-40 claims that 'Even after punishment, i.e. exile, Israel persisted in its former ways', can also be aptly applied to vss.24-28.
Cogan, JBL 97 (1978) p.41.

63. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.63.
64. Gray, I & II Kings, p.640.
65. cf. Burney, Kings, p.330;
Skinner, I & II Kings, p.379.
66. cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel, p.126;
Nelson, Double Redaction, p.63.
67. Cogan, JBL (1978), p.41.
68. *ibid.*
69. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.64.
70. cf. Burney, Kings, p.333.
71. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.64.
72. Cogan, JBL 97 (1978), p.41.
73. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.656;
Nelson, Double Redaction, p.64.
74. cf. Kittel, R. Die Bücher der Könige, HKAT (1902), p.278.
75. Coggins, R. 'The Old Testament and Samaritan Origins'
ASTI 6 (1967-68) 35-48.
76. cf. Evans, 'Neram-Sin and Jeroboam,' pp.99ff.
77. cf. above, n.34.
78. cf. our discussion of the Manasseh material, pp.375ff.
79. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, pp.308ff.
80. The 'evil' of Jehoiachin is probably to include his
surrender to the king of Babylon as well. His surrender
simply becomes the foretaste of the fall of Jerusalem.

On some of the problems raised by the verse in question,
vs.12:

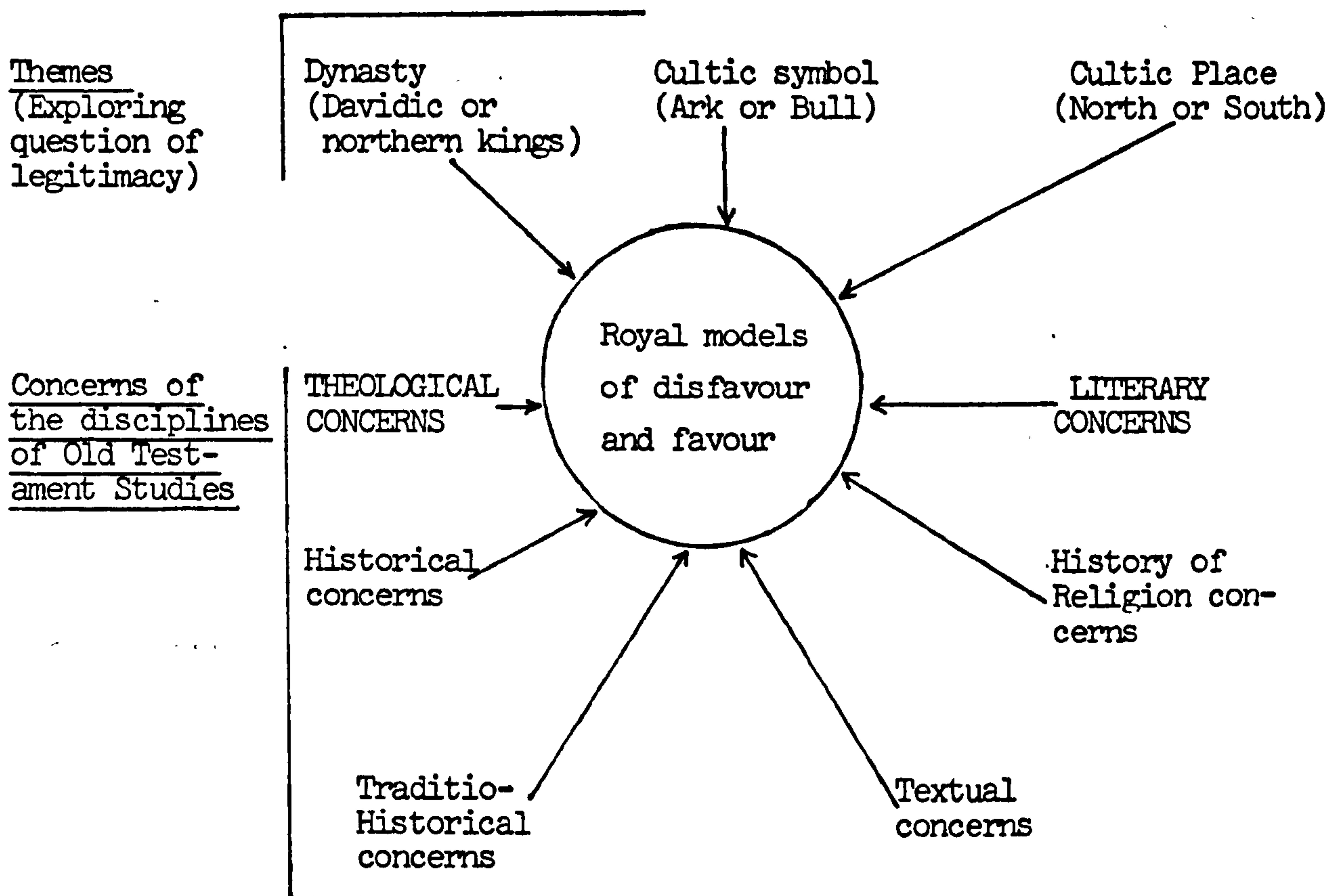
cf. Gray, I & II Kings, pp.759-760.
81. cf. Hayes & Miller, Israelite & Judaeon History, p.471.
82. Like the position of Jehoiachin as mentioned above (n.80),
the link between Zedekiah and the Babylonians clearly
anticipates the impending disaster that come to himself,
his sons and the city (cf.25:1ff).

83. cf. Ez.12:12ff for the tradition about his death, On the problems relating to this text:
cf. Eichrodt, Ezekiel, pp.148-149.
84. cf. our discussion above on the relationship between the Ark and the name of Yahweh, pp. 128ff.
85. cf. Clements, God and Temple. The Idea of the Divine Presence in Ancient Israel (Oxford, 1965) pp.100ff.
86. cf. the comment of Clements: 'The entire ideology of the Jerusalem temple centred in the belief that, as his chosen dwelling place, Yahweh's presence was to be found in it, and that from there he revealed his will and poured out his blessing upon his people. God and Temple, p.76.
87. On this role,
cf. Clements, God and Temple, pp.40ff.
88. On the interrelation of king and temple:
cf. Poulssen, König und Tempel.
89. cf. Ackroyd, Exile and Restoration, p.80;
Clements, God and Temple, p.109..
90. cf. Ps. 137.
91. cf. above, p.431ff.
92. cf. Cogan, JBL 97 (1978), p.43.
93. cf. Nelson, Double Redaction, p.89;
Montgomery, Kings, p.564.
Gray, I & II Kings, p.768-769.
94. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p.74.
95. For a good analysis of this understanding,
cf. Mayes, The Story of Israel; pp. 3ff.
Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen. pp.15ff.
96. Noth, The Deuteronomistic History, p.98.
97. von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, pp.90-91.

98. von Rad, Theology, Vol.I, p.343; also,
Zimmerli, W. Old Testament Theology in Outline,
(Edinburgh, 1978), pp.179ff.
99. Dietrich, Prophetie und Geschichte, p.142.
100. Gray, I & II Kings, pp.773-775.
101. Brueggemann, W. 'The Kerygma of the Deuteronomistic
Historian' INT 22 (1968) 387-402.
102. Zenger, E. 'Die deuteronomistische Interpretation der
Rehabilitierung Jojachins' BZ 12 (1968) 16-30.
103. Wolff, 'The Kerygma of the Deuteronomic Historical Work,'
p.174.
104. Klein, Israel in Exile, p.39.
105. cf. Veijola, Die ewige Dynastie, pp.68-79.
106. cf. above, our discussion of the presentation of David
in the story of his rise to power, pp. 18ff.
107. Ackroyd, P. Israel Under Babylon and Persia, p.145.
108. Klein, Israel in Exile, p.40.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing study has been an attempt to isolate the models of kingship in Samuel-Kings. Our basic position is that most, if not all of the material within I Sam.15 - II Kings 25 can be related to the institution of kingship. There are two important points that can be noted at this stage. The first relates to the type of methodology used in our analysis of the material. We have used three basic themes relating to the legitimacy of the rival dynasties, cultic symbols and cultic sites to assist us in the isolation of the models, but have also drawn upon many of the disciplines of Old Testament studies. The themes along with these disciplines merge into each other to produce the methodology employed in our study. This methodology can be set out in the diagrammatic form below :



The literary and theological concerns are of course the main ones at work in our study. But at various points the others were also at work. In Ch.2 for example, some of the problems raised in the area of the History of Religion are addressed as they relate to the establishment of the cults of the North and the South. The issues raised by the cultic symbols of the Ark and the bulls of Dan and Bethel, as well as the complexity of the history of priesthood are touched on.¹ But even here, the literary and theological questions are still given priority.

The approach as set out above, enables us to identify models that are shaped by several forces. These forces all go to produce an understanding of kingship that places it at the very 'hub' of Israel's history.² It is around the king, to a very large extent, that the story of Israel in Samuel-Kings revolves.³ Yahweh is of course ever present as a determinative factor, but the king is given a crucial role in relation to the good and bad experiences of the nation.⁴ The models of kingship can be understood as interpretations of these experiences.

This leads us to our second point within the Samuel-Kings material, the models of kingship are made to function as interpretations of the national experience. Four important themes are utilized in this process. The first is the king's role in sustaining or destroying the relationship between Yahweh and the nation. The destruction of the relationship is of course conveyed through a national catastrophe, or one that engulfs and destroys a particular dynasty. The division of the kingdom which at the same time

is a drastic adjustment of the David-Yahweh relationship,⁵ is brought about by the sin of Solomon (I Kings 11), just as the destruction of the kingdom is attributed to the sin of Manasseh (II Kings 21). Similarly, what is described as a special relationship between Yahweh and Jeroboam and indeed his new kingdom, is destroyed by Jeroboam's cultic innovations (cf. I Kings 11:29ff; 14:7ff). The negative elements that constitute the 'stuff' of which the models of disfavour are made, create the model into interpretations of the national experience.

The kings that represent the model of favour not only sustain but strengthen the relationship between Yahweh and the nation. Thus the prototype of the model, David, functions as a channel through which the nation is able to experience the goodness of Yahweh. David not only secures for the nation rest from all her enemies (II Sam. 4:17ff; 7:1), but establishes the Jerusalem cult that becomes crucial for the relationship between Israel and Yahweh (II Sam. 6; 24:18ff). Hezekiah's piety which affirms his status as a representative of the model of favour,⁶ becomes the basis upon which an interpretation of the Israel-Assyria encounter is constructed.⁷ The interpretation of a national experience becomes inextricably bound up with the re-creation of the model of favour. On the other hand Josiah, a far more extensive re-creation of the model of favour, is given the leading role in what is presented as one of the most important national events, the thorough reform of the southern and northern cult. He not only strengthens the relationship between Yahweh and the nation by virtue of these reforms,⁸ but the positive (good) cultic

phase he represents stands as a counterbalance to the negative cultic phase of the Manasseh era.⁹

It seems however that the model of favour is also made to relate to the bad experiences of the nation. This is achieved in the traditions of David and Hezekiah by attaching an 'element of disfavour' to these two kings. In the case of David, the national experience becomes synonymous with his own. The king disrupts the relationship between Uriah and Bathsheba and as a consequence that between Yahweh and himself (II Sam.11:27b), and suffers another disruption, that of the nation as created by Absalom (15:1ff).¹⁰ Hezekiah whose piety evokes Yahweh's deliverance of Jerusalem from the destruction of Assyria (II Kings 19:1-37), is also the same one who brings Yahweh's judgement of exile upon his sons and the nation (20:12-19).¹¹

In the Josiah material, the 'element of disfavour' unlike that in the Davidic and Hezekiah material, is not the direct consequence of the king's actions, but that of his predecessor Manasseh (II Kings 23:26-27). The David redivivus not only suffers an ignominious death (23:29-30),¹² but his piety and reform are unable to stop the slide to disaster generated by Manasseh. Here the good and bad experiences of the nation are merged into the model of favour. The harsh reality of the national experience was that the good and the positive did not cancel out the bad and negative elements of the nation's life. Josiah, the ideal re-creation of the prototype of favour David, is made to embody all the contradictions of national experience. His death which seems to contradict the prophetic promise of 22:18-20, and stresses the limitations of his reform (23:26-27) is the real indicator

of national experience.

It was undoubtedly the need to relate national disasters and setbacks to the tradition about election and covenant, that was largely responsible for the creation of the model of disfavour. The 'element of disfavour' present in the model of favour also represents this quest for an explanation of disaster.¹³ The division of the Davidic kingdom in spite of the close bond that was believed to exist between Yahweh and David (cf. II Sam. 7; I Kings 11:12ff); Jeroboam's rejection of Yahweh and his legitimate cult at Jerusalem which is clearly to be understood as an act of ingratitude on the part of Jeroboam (I Kings 14:7ff), and which leads inevitably to the destruction of the northern kingdom (II Kings 17:21-23); and finally, Manasseh's 'contamination' of the Jerusalem cult (II Kings 21:4ff) which leads to the conquest and exile of the South (21:10ff; 24:3-4), had to be 'squared' with the traditions of election and covenant. The loss of the land, the cult, and the exile of both North and South found a natural theological refuge and indeed explanation in the 'bad' kings who represent the model of disfavour. It is not at all surprising therefore that the model of favour becomes little more than a symbol of hope.¹⁴ But then hope in the context of the Biblical tradition is also an integral part of the interpretation of the national and indeed human experience.¹⁵

The second theme that functions to create the models especially the model of disfavour into an interpretation of national experience, is the theme of sin. What

can only be described as a profound understanding of the power of sin, is reflected in the material of each model. It seems as if this is projected as a corrosive force that can be at work in both models and eventually produces disaster. The models and more so the model of disfavour function as generators as well as reservoirs of sin. The model of disfavour sustains the theme in the presentation of kingship, making it the explanation of both individual, dynastic and national disaster.¹⁶

With the model of disfavour, sin creates an enduring stamp of disaster. The sin of Jeroboam, i.e. his creation of the rival shrines of Dan and Bethel functions as a highway to destruction, with each northern king being sucked into the vortex. The cult of Dan and Bethel as a manifestations of sin, is credited with a power that extends far beyond that of Jeroboam, or any other individual king. Jeroboam initiates the force, while other kings of the North and Manasseh help to sustain it.¹⁷ The model of disfavour is used not only to explain the downfall of the kingdoms (II Kings 17:21-23; 21:10ff; 24:3.4), but also the prolongation the corrosive power (sin) that brought about the downfall.

The model of favour also wrestles with the relationship between the king, sin, and national experience, especially that of disaster. The story of David's involvement with Bathsheba introduces the theme into the prototype of the model (II Sam.11-12), while the story of Absalom's revolt seems to draw out the consequences of the king's sin for the nation. The theme of sin is again interwoven with

that of the national experience. The same is true of the Hezekiah material in II Kings 20:12-19, where the king displays his treasures and his armoury to the Babylonian envoys. Hezekiah becomes a link between the betrayal of trust in Yahweh,¹⁸ (sin) and the exile of the nation (consequence). A representative of the model of favour is made partly responsible for the most unpleasant of national experiences, the conquest and exile by the Babylonians.¹⁹

The other side to the theme of sin, is that of the judgement of Yahweh (cf. II Sam. 12:7ff; I Kings 14:9ff; 15:29-30; II Kings 21:10ff). Just as sin stands as the cause of national disasters as well as personal ones, so judgement is the consequence. There is therefore the correlation : sin/cause - judgement/consequence. But each element of this correlation is carefully integrated into the two models, with the model of disfavour receiving far more than the model of favour. Indeed it is the prevalence of these elements that transforms the model of disfavour into an interpretation of the national experience. Conquest and exile is the consequence of sin.²⁰

But the close relationship that is created between sin and conquest/exile, draws into the models another important theme, the interaction of Israel with other nations. This constitutes our third theme that contributes to the interpretative function of the models. The nations perform a dual function that is crucial to the interpretation of the national experience. They represent a threat to a good Yahweh-Israel relationship (cf. I Kings 16:31ff; II Kings 21:2), but also the manifestation of Yahweh's judgement upon the faulty relationship (II Kings 17:1ff; 20:16ff; 21:10ff).

In the Samuel-Kings material, the king plays an important role in the creation of relationships between other nations and their states. He therefore constitutes the factor that determines the type of relationship. This is reflected in each model. With the model of disfavour, the nations are primarily a negative force, whereas the model of favour, while reflecting this understanding as well, also seems to suggest the possibility of a positive force.

The model of disfavour seems to be concerned with basically two effects of Israel's relationship with the nations. The nations are first and foremost a disruptive cultic force in the Yahweh-Israel relationship. This idea seems however to lack direct expression in the prototype Jeroboam. It is only if the bull symbols are identified as representative of the non-Israelite cult that the nations can be identified as a negative force in the prototype.²¹ The relationship between the North and its neighbours would then become a negative one initiated by the prototype of disfavour, Jeroboam.

It seems however that it is in the Ahab material we find a far more extensive exploration of the relationship. Jezebel represents the epitome of the disruptive cultic force that can destroy the possibility of creating any relationship between Yahweh and the North. She therefore functions in the material as a representative of the model of disfavour.²² That she is Sidonian rather than Israelite (I Kings 16:31), only helps to highlight a powerful negative element in the relationship between the North and another nation. She therefore draws into the model of disfavour the

theme of sin (judgement) as it relates directly to the cult of other peoples. In this context Ahab becomes co-representative of the model of disfavour. His marriage to Jezebel like his support of her alien cult (I Kings 16:31ff), underlines the negative dimension of the relationship between his nation and hers.

The second effect of Israel's relationship with the nations that emerges from the model of disfavour, is that relating to the function of these nations as instruments of Yahweh's judgement. This second effect is closely related to the first. The borrowing of cultic elements from other peoples leads to the destruction by other peoples. This conviction appears in the Jeroboam and the Manasseh material. Jeroboam's making of other gods and his casting Yahweh behind his back merits the exile (cf. I Kings 14:9ff). In other words the actions of Jeroboam that are understood to indicate allegiance to another god, or the god of other peoples, leads to conquest by other peoples (cf. II Kings 17:21-23).

Several of the acts Manasseh is accused of, are those of non-Israelite cults.²³ He stands as the representative of the model of disfavour that implants the cult of the nations in the central cultic place of Yahweh. Indeed the narrator of II Kings 21 seems to be claiming that the cult of the nations replaced that of Yahweh. But the direct link that is created between Manasseh's non-Israelite cultic practice, and the conquest and the exile of the South by the Babylonians (cf. II Kings 24:3) represents that negative element in the relationship between the nations and the model of disfavour. The message is the same as that relating to Jeroboam : allegiance to the gods of other

peoples brings about the conquest by other peoples.

When we turn to the model of favour, there seems to be a measure of ambiguity present in the understanding of the relationship with other peoples. David as prototype introduces into the model the motif of the nations' vulnerability when confronted with Israel. His conquest of the Philistines (II Sam.4:17-25), and the Ammonites (12:29-31) reflects this motif (cf. also I Sam.30). But a more positive understanding of the non-Israelite is also present in the Davidic material and so enters the model of favour. The kindness Achish extends to David especially his gift of Ziklag (I Sam.27:1-7), seems to convey a softening of the strong anti-Philistine sentiments that are expressed in the books of Samuel. The model holds together in the Davidic material two contrasting types of relationships between Israel and the Philistines.

The relationship between Israel (Judah) and other peoples is also touched on in the Hezekiah and Josiah material. These two representatives of the model of favour reflect several understandings of the relationship between their nation and other peoples. The story about the Assyrian attack on Jerusalem (II Kings 18:13-19:37), introduces into the model the theme of the crucial role of Yahweh in the Israel (Judah)-Other nations encounter. This functions to highlight the importance of the king's piety and allegiance to Yahweh for the demise of the nation that confronts Judah. With this representative of the model of favour, (Hezekiah), as with the prototype David, the vulnerability of the alien hostile nations depends to a large extent upon the type of model the king represents.

But this understanding does not seem to be reflected in the relationship between the other representative of the model of favour, Josiah, and other peoples. Josiah's piety points to his own vulnerability rather than that of his enemies. With Josiah, an ideal model of favour, the triumphal approach to Israel's relationship to the nations that is to be found in the Davidic and Hezekiah material, is tempered if not completely denied. This is achieved through the report of the untimely death of the good Josiah (II Kings 23:29-30),²⁴ and the confession that not even his reform, his supreme expression of piety, was able to prevent the conquest and exile of the South (23:26-27). Here it seems several questions are raised about the traditional understanding between Israel and the nations. The disruptive cultic force which they represent, and which found a great measure of freedom in the Manasseh era, cannot be counterbalanced by the model of favour.

Given all that we have said above, it would seem that both models attempt to come to grips with all that the encounter between Israel and other nations entailed. Each model reflects an awareness of Israel's vulnerability. The model of disfavour points to the inevitability of Israel's destruction when she loses her cultic and national identity. Her overtures to the nations especially the cultic ones constitute a march to destruction by the nations (cf. also, II Kings 20:12-19). The model of favour also wrestles with the inevitability of destruction by the nations (cf. II Kings 23:26-27), but it seems to point beyond this inevitability to the possibility of a better future.²⁵

The possibility of a future constitutes the fourth theme that enables the models to function as interpretations of the national experience. The kings and the people had determined the past by their sinful flirtations with the cults of the nations. But could this negative influence be also determinative of the future? Since the models of kingship represent a reflection on human (Israel's) experience, then reflection about the future was inescapable. As is the case with the other themes we have looked at, there is a significant difference between the two models in the present area of concern. One can of course question the extent to which the model of disfavour wrestles with the question of a future. The stamp of sin that is placed upon the North, and especially its kings, from the very start seems to deny any possibility of a future (cf. I Kings 12:30ff). And yet the mere knowledge that the kingdom of the North lasted for over two hundred years, seems to insist that there was a future far beyond the time of Jeroboam. But how is this reflected in the models of disfavour?

The future as reflected through the models of disfavour is one of sin and/or destruction. There are several passages in the Jeroboam material that address the question of the future of the North. In I Kings 13:1-3 the man of God from Judah predicts a bleak future for the cult of Bethel. Priests and altar will be destroyed. Jeroboam's sin as manifested in his erection of the altar and his appointment of priests (cf. 12:31) creates a future marred by death and destruction. The same idea is present in 14:10-16. The future spells destruction not only for Jeroboam's dynasty

but also for the entire kingdom.

All this introduces into the model an understanding of the future that is conditioned by the close links that are seen to exist between sin and consequence. This understanding is also reflected in the Ahab material (cf. I Kings 21), the Ahaziah material (II Kings 1), and in the Manasseh material (II Kings 21). The future cannot rise above the consequences of sin. The model of disfavour conditions not only the present, but the future as well. It is often in the future that the judgement of Yahweh is waiting.

Although it is true that the sin of Jeroboam is cited as one of the reasons for the fall of the North (cf. II Kings 17:21-23), the survival of this 'sin' for two centuries must have surely posed a problem for the presentation of the history in the context of a closed sin-judgement relationship. The problem is partly solved by transforming the destructive power of the sin into a latent (potential) force that engulfs each king, and each era. The future becomes only the reflection of the past and the present. It holds the destruction whose seeds were sowed in the past and continues to grow in the present.

With the model of favour, the future is seen primarily in terms of the prototype, David. The Davidic material highlights several understandings of the future. There is first of all the conviction that the future is controlled by Yahweh. In the story of David's rise to power (I Sam.15-II Sam.5), his anointing by Samuel on the command of Yahweh (I Sam.16) constitutes the controlling factor in his march to kingship. Yahweh's shaping of the future works in spite of all the many attempts to frustrate it

(cf. I Sam. 18ff). The idea of Yahweh's control of the future also finds expression in the words of David in II Sam. 15:25, when his own future is presented as being totally dependent upon the mercies of Yahweh.

But undoubtedly the Davidic covenant (II Sam. 7) is the most important element for understanding the relationship between the model of favour and the future.²⁶ In a similar fashion to the sin of Jeroboam, it introduces into the model a force that is seen to determine the type of future the nation will experience. The promise of an eternal dynasty for example, can be interpreted to mean that the nation will not only always have a king, but one that is a type of David.²⁷ Each Davidic king therefore steps into an ensured future.

But the Hezekiah and Josiah material seems to modify this understanding of the future that enters the model through the Davidic material. Hezekiah's showing of his treasures and armour to the Babylonian envoys (II Kings 20:12-19) introduces a future that holds the possibility of exile (20:16-18). The limitations of the king in determining the future are pushed to the fore. The same is done in the Josiah material where his limitations are presented in terms of the failure of his reform to prevent the conquest and exile of the South (23:26-27).

It may be ironic that the possibility of a (good) future is finally expressed not through the representatives of the model of favour, Hezekiah or Josiah but through one that is closely aligned to the model of disfavour. The function of Jehoiachin in this respect may be due to more than a desire to be faithful to history.²⁸ It clearly places

all hope for the future outside of the two traditional models of kingship. The future that was determined by the Davidic model of disfavour Manasseh is brought to an end. But the new future is experienced by one who is far removed from being a model of favour. He does not deserve this future. Another factor seems to be at work, and this is none other than Yahweh. The future is therefore removed from the models and becomes Yahweh's future. The models not unlike Israel and Judah become dispensable. The control and quality of the future rest not with any king good or bad, but totally with Yahweh.²⁹

On the basis of all that we have said on the four themes discussed above, we can safely claim that the models of kingship seek to pull together several threads of the Israelite experience. Kingship it seems becomes a 'catchall' holding together the conflicting experiences of Israel's history. The institution is therefore never pushed into a realm of perfection, but remains in the arena of harsh reality, making desperate attempts to make sense of all the contradictions of history.

NOTES TO CONCLUSION

1. cf. above, pp. 64ff; 71ff.
2. Sandmel, The Hebrew Scriptures, (New York, 1963), p.441.
3. cf. Hayes and Miller, Israelite & Judaeon History, pp.121ff.
4. On this point we may note von Rad's comment that the 'Deuteronomistic theology of history' and 'the word which creates history' are related 'in the most direct way to the kings'. He goes on to argue, 'They (the kings) are the real object of this operative word, it is they who are sustained by it and they who by it are destroyed. The people stands and falls with them'. Theology Vol.I, p.344.
5. Although the promise to David is still maintained in the context of the gift of the kingdom to Jeroboam (I Kings 11:11-13,29ff), the mere fact that Jeroboam is given part of the Davidic kingdom constitutes it seems a denial of Davidic claims over all Israel.
6. cf. above, pp. 325ff.
7. The prayer of Hezekiah (II Kings 19:15-19) which stands as the supreme manifestation of his piety, introduces the theme of the power of Yahweh over against the impotence of the other gods. The prayer also functions in the narrative as a basis for the Isaiah oracle (vss.20-34) and is important and indeed indispensable for the interpretation of the Israel-Assyria encounter. cf. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, pp.56ff.
8. cf. above, pp. 275ff.
9. On this positive-negative cultic relationship, cf. Hoffmann, Reform und Reformen, pp.27ff.
10. cf. above, pp. 200ff.
11. It is highly possible that the reference to the loss of the royal treasures and most of all the exile of the king's sons to Babylon represents the fate suffered by the nation at the hands of the Babylonians. There is a strong case for regarding the reference (vss.17-18) as a 'later retouching' as suggested by some scholars. cf. Gray, I & II Kings, p.702.
12. On this, cf. Frost, JBL 87 (1968) 369-382.

13. On the problem of seeking an explanation for the disaster produced by the Babylonian conquest and exile, cf. Klein, Israel in Exile, pp.1ff.
14. For several scholars the model of favour as represented by its prototype David was eventually absorbed into the messianic tradition. Although there are numerous problems in determining the exact relationship between this tradition as understood in the Deuteronomic history, and its developments in the prophetic literature, there is still a theological and a historical link between the two. The Messiah as the ideal Davidic king eventually became the supreme symbol of hope.
cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, pp.316ff.
15. cf. Minear, P.S. 'Hope' IDB Vol.2, pp.640-643.
16. In this respect Manasseh fulfills the dual role of continuing the work of the northern kings, and explaining national disaster.
17. cf. Debus, Die Sunde Jerobeams pp.93ff.
18. Although there is no explanation given about why Hezekiah's display of his treasures to the Babylonian emissaries was wrong, it is probably to be understood as a betrayal of trust in Yahweh to protect Jerusalem. If indeed there is a close link between the Hezekiah and Isaiah materials at this point, the story of vss.12-19 is far more than a simple explanation of the catastrophe of 598 as pointed out by Clements. The motif of faith and trust in Yahweh may be at work in the story as well.
cf. Clements, Isaiah and the Deliverance of Jerusalem, pp.66-67.
19. cf. Ackroyd, SJT 27 (1974) 329-352.
20. cf. Klein, Israel in Exile, pp.57-60.
21. On the problems related to this identification, cf. Cross, Canaanite Myth, pp.274ff.
22. cf. above, pp.262ff.
23. cf. the claim of McKay that 'Manasseh was apostate to the paganism of Canaan, Phoenicia, Arabia and possibly even Egypt'. Religion in Judah, p.26; also, Ringgren, Israelite Religion, p.99
Fohrer, History of Israelite Religion, pp.135-136.
24. It could be argued however that the prophecy of 20:16-18 is an attempt to adjust the 'triumphal approach' in the Hezekiah material.
cf. Ackroyd's discussion on the theme of exile/restoration and judgement/repentance in the Hezekiah material.
SJT 27 (1974) 329-352.

25. cf. Klein, Israel in Exile, p.67.
26. cf. von Rad, Theology Vol.I, pp.308;
Klein, Israel in Exile, pp.39-41.
27. This seems to be reflected in the messianic tradition,
but finds a powerful expression in the Jeremiah material
(cf.23:5-6).
cf. Klein, Israel in Exile, pp.53ff.
28. This is of course contrary to the position of Noth
who finds in 25:27-30 a reflection of an interest in
historical details. The Deuteronomistic History, p.98.
29. cf. Klein, Israel in Exile, p.40.
The hope of a better future is of course present at
several points in the Deuteronomic history
(cf. I Kings 8). Commenting on this trend in the
Book of Kings, Childs has correctly argued that
the 'Writer of Kings does not restrict the presence
of God to either the temple or the land, the
possibility of renewed blessing is left open to the
hope of future Generations'.
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